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Vaṅgāla-deśa

The province of Bengal was not known as such in early times. It was split up into a number of geographical divisions viz., Gauḍa, Rāḍhā, Vaṅga, Samataṭa etc. Sanskrit records from the eleventh century onwards occasionally refer to the country of Vaṅgāla. Originally Vaṅgāla was the name of a comparatively small tract of land. In course of time the neighbouring districts were also known by this name and ultimately the name was applied to the whole province.

It is admitted that Vaṅgāla is identical with Peng-ka-lo, Bangālah, and Bengala mentioned respectively in the Chinese, Moslem and European sources. The information furnished by all these records is given in this paper.[1]

1 Some are inclined to think that Vangāla was originally distinct from Vaṅga Their conclusions are based on the following informations · An inscription (*c* 1200 A.D.) from Ablur, in the Dharwar district, states that the Kalacuri Bijjala (1156-1167 A D.) defeated the Colas, Lāṭas, Nepālas, Andhras, Gurjaras, Cedis, ground Vaṅga in a mill, and fought and killed the kings of Bangāla, Kaliṅga, Magadha, Paṭaśvara, and Mālava (*EI*, V. 257) An inscription from Mysore, dated 1190 A.D, reports that the Hoysala Bittideva "broke the bones of the Mālava, Cera, Kerala, Nolamba, Kadamba, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Baṅgāla, Varāla, Cola, Khasa, Barbbara, Oḍḍaha, and other kings, and brought them into submission to himself" (*EC.*, V, pt. I, Cn. 179, p. 202). *Hammira-mahākāvya* of N a y a c a n d r a S u r i (14th century A.D) relates that "the kings of Aṅga, Telaṅga, Magadha, Maisur, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Bhoṭa Medāpaṭa, Pañcāla, Baṅgāla, Thomim, Bhilla, Nepāla, Ḍāhala and some Himalayan chiefs sent help to Hammīra (A D. 1288-1301) (*IA*, VIII, 68). *Tārikh-i-Firozshāhi* by S h a m s - i S i r a j A f i f 'mentions about the slaughter of the people of 'Bang and Bangala' (Elliot, III, 295)

As Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla have been mentioned side by side by the above authorities the former is to be taken to have been distinct from the latter. But this conclusion is faulty. Above reports from the epigraphic records and *Hammira-mahākāvya* are vague generalisations without much historical value. Kalacuri

Brahmanical and Buddhist sources

The Tirumalai Rock Inscription[2] of Rājendracola, dated 1025 A.D., states that the king seized Takkanalāḍam (Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā) whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vaṅgāla-deśa, where the rain wind never stopped, (and from which) Govindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahīpāla, decked (as he was) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets, Uttiralāḍam (Uttara Rāḍhā), as rich in pearls as the ocean; and the Gaṅgā, whose waters dashed against bathing places (*tīrtha*) covered with sand." It follows from the above report that Rājendracola after conquering Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā invaded Vaṅgāla-deśa, which was under Govindacandra. He next defeated Mahīpāla. After this achievement he proceeded to Uttara-Rāḍhā and seized that country Mahīpāla, the king of Gauḍa, or his predecessors are not known to have ever held sway over Rādhā. So it will be reasonable to assume that Rājendracola won victory over Mahīpāla somewhere in Gauḍa. It is thus certain that about this time Vaṅgāla was distinct from Gauḍa and Rāḍhā. The evidence,[3] hitherto available, estab-

Bijjala, Hoyasala Bittideva and the Cāhamāna Hammira were not powerful enough to lead expeditions against East Bengal Major portions of these statements are the products of the imaginations of the *praśastikāras*, whose geographical knowledge is not very rarely found inaccurate. The Mysore inscription, referred to above, mentions Cera and Kerala side by side But Cera is identical with Kerala. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions Avantika, Vidiśā, Mālava, Daśārṇa (GOS No. LXVIII). But Vidiśā was the capital of Daśārna Two inscriptions from South India, one dated A D 1168, and the other dated A D 1261, state that Rāḍhā was in Gauda (*JAHRS*, IV, 158, Author's *Eastern Cālukyas*, p 140) But Managoli Inscription (*EI*, V, 29) of the Yādava Jaitugi mentions Lāla (Rāḍhā) and Gaula (Gauḍa) side by side.

Elliot translates the title of the 'Third Mukaddama', 'Kism' II, of *Tārikh-i-Firozshāhi* by Afif, as—"slaughter of one lakh of the people of Bang and Baṅgāla' (III, 295). But the text adopted in the Bib. Ind ed (p. 114) does not mention Bang, and runs—'one lakh and eighty thousand good men of Bangālah'. In the foot-note another reading of this portion of the text is given as—'a lakh of people of Bank and Bangālah—' Hence no conclusion should be drawn on this statement of *Tārikh-i-Firozshāhi*. The same work elsewhere mentions that Sonārgāon (in the Dacca Dist) was in the heart of Bangālah (Elliot, III, p. 305).

2 *EI*, IX, 233.

3 Betka Image Inscription of Govindacandra, *AN Rep Dac M*, 1941-42, p 11.

lishes that Govindacandra was the ruler of the Dacca district, which was situated in Vaṅga.[4] So the normal conclusion will be that the Dacca district was situated in the Vaṅgāla-deśa. Though it cannot be definitely laid down that Vaṅga was identical with Vaṅgāla it may, however, be reasonably assumed that at least one was a division of the other.

The Nālandā Inscription[5] of the Buddhist teacher Vipulaśrīmitra was issued in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. Vipulaśrīmitra's preceptor was Aśokaśrīmitra, whose preceptor was Maitriśrīmitra. Maitriśrīmitra's preceptor was Karuṇāśrīmitra. The above inscription relates that in the Somapura-vihāra there was the ascetic Karuṇāśrīmitra, "who when his house was burning, (being) set on fire by the approaching armies of Vaṅgāla (*Vaṅgāla-balair*) attached (himself) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (and) went to heaven." Somapura is the modern Paharpur in the Rajshahi district *Vaṅgāla-balair* obviously means the army of the king of Vaṅgāla As Vipulaśrīmitra flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, Karunāśrīmitra, during whose time the invasion of Varendrī (in which was situated Paharpur) by the Vaṅgāla king took place, may be placed in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Jātavarman of the Varman dynasty flourished in the third quarter of the eleventh century A D. He brought 'to disgrace the strength of the arms of Divya', the king of Varendrī, and extended his domination 'over the Angas.'[6] No other king either from East or South Bengal is known to have invaded Varendrī about this time So the king of Vaṅgāla, referred to in the Paharpur Inscription, may reasonably be identified with Jātavarman. The Varmans ruled their kingdom from Vikramapura in the Dacca district. All these also indicate that the Dacca district was about this time situated in the Vaṅgāla country.[7]

4 Scholars are unanimous in thinking that Govindacandra succeeded to the throne of Śrīcandra, who ruled from Vikramapura Daksina-Rādhā was bounded on the north by the Ajai river, which flows to the Ganges to the north of Navadvipa, in the Nadia district Rājendracola seems to have crossed the Ganges near the Ajai river and advanced through Nadia and Faridpur towards Vikramapura. The suggestion that Rājendracola, having crossed the Ganges, attacked the Sundarban region is without any value. The Cola king certainly did not choose a passage for advance, which is interesected by numerous rivers and creeks

5 *EI.*, XXI, 97.

6 *Ins Bengal*, p 22.

7 Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva, minister of Jātavarman's son Harivarman, is said to have been "a very sage Agastya to the sea of the Bauddhas, and clever in the refutation

The Chinese sources

Pan-yong (*c.* 125 A.D.)[8] reports that 'if after leaving the kingdom of Kao-fu (Kabul) which belongs to Yue-tche, one goes south-west, one reaches the western sea, in the east one goes to the kingdom of P'an-ki; all these lands form part of Chin-tou," which is known as the kingdom of T'ien-tchou (India). Ma-Twan-lin[9] (1319 A.D.) relates that "all the countries which extended from the south-west of the Yuei-chi and the kingdom of Kao-fu (Kabul) to the western sea, and on the east to Pan-khi, belong to Shin-tu (India)." According to these two authorities P'an-ki or P'an-khi was in the eastern border of India. A well-digested Buddhist Cyclopædia[10] of the Ming dynasty states that Pang-ko-lo is in the east of T'ien-chu and in the south of T'ien-chu is Magadha Dr Hirth equates Pang-ko-lo with Bangala. Pan-ki is identical with Pang-ko-la. Or it may be restored as Vaṅga.

Chao-ju-kua,[11] who wrote his book *Chu-fan-chi* sometime between A.D. 1205 and 1258, mentions that the capital of the country of Peng-ka-lo (Bengala) is called Ch'a-na-chi. "This city is 120 li in circuit. The common people are combative and devoted solely to robbery They

of the judgment of heretic dialecticians" (*Ibid*, 39) Bhavadeva's father Govardhana became famous for his oratorial skill, which he displayed in the assemblies of the heretics (*Ibid*, 37) It is not unlikely that all these activities of the Brahmanical reformers of this age created an anti-Buddhist feeling in the minds of the people of Vangāla This will explain why the Vangāla army did not feel scruple to persecute a Buddhist ascetic, who was the superintendent of the premier Buddhist monastery of Bengal.

The Calcutta Sahitya-Parishat Copper-Plate of Viśvarūpasena (*Ins Ben*) records that some lands in the Rāmasiddhipātaka (village of this name in the Bakharganj district), in Vaṅga, was bounded on the south by Bāṅgālabadā (*Bāṅgālabaḍā bhūh simā* (*ibid.*, 146, l. 43) Cf *Pranulli bhūh simā* (l 47). It will be wrong to assume that this Bāṅgālabadā is identical with Vaṅgāla-deśa.

It has as much connection with Vaṅgāla as Kauśāmbi of the Belava inscription has with Kauśāmbi, near Allahabad

The Gaharwa inscription (*EI*, XI, 142) of the Kalacuri Karṇa mentions that the king's great-great-grand-father Lakṣmaṇarāja (*c* 950 A D) defeated the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kāśmira Sarvānanda in his *Ṭikāsarvasva* (*c* 1159 A D) states that the people of Vaṅgāla were fond of dried fish: (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1326 B.S fn., 103).

8 *IHQ.*, XIV, 502: N. K Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p 10.

9 *IA.*, IX, 15

10 *JRAS*, 1896, 496 fn. 1.

11 *Ibid*, 1896, pp 62, 495.

use white cowry shells, ground into shape as money. The country produces superior double-edged sword blades, cotton, and other cloth." Dr. Hirth remarks that[12] Ch'a-na-chi is in Cantonese Ch'a-na-kat. It may correspond to some names like Chanagar, Champanagar, and Sunarganu (Sonargaon). It is known from the Moslem sources that Sonārgāon was the capital of Bangālah in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. Hence Ch'a-na-chi may be restored as Sonārgāon.

Mahuan,[13] an interpreter attached to the suite of Cheng Ho, who was sent to various kingdoms by the Chinese emperor Yung-lo, in 1405 A.D., reached Bengala shortly after that date. He relates that "the kingdom of Pang-kola, Bengala, is reached by ship from the kingdom of Su-men-ta-la (Samalenga in Sumatra), as follows· A course is shaped for the Maoshan, and Tsin-lan Islands; these being reached, the vessel then has to steer north-west, and being favoured with a fair wind for twentyone days, arrives first at Cheh-ti-gan, where she anchors. Small boats are then used to ascend the river, up which, at a distance of 500 li or more, one arrives at a place called Sona-urh-kong (Sonargaon), where one lands, travelling from which place in a south-westerly direction for thirtyfive stages the kingdom of Bengala is reached. It is a kingdom with walled cities, and (in the capital) the king and officials of all ranks have their residences. It is an extensive country." It is known from the same authority that an embassy from Gai-ya-szu-ting, king of Bengala, came to China in the sixth year (1409 A.D.) of Yung-to's reign. Gai-ya-szu-ting is identical with Ghyasuddin A'zam Shah, who ruled Bengala from A.D. 1388 to A.D. 1410.[14] The great Persian poet Hafiz,[15] who died in 791 A.H. = 1388A.D., sent a letter to Bangālah to the king Ghyasuddin, son of Sikandar Shah. Ghyasuddin issued coins from the mint of Firozabad (Pandua), Satgaon, and Muazamabad. Muazamabad is identified with Mazumpur six or seven miles north of Sonargaon. Sikandar Shah issued coins from Sunargaon. Ghyasuddin revolted against his father and attacked him from Sonargaon.[16] Dr. N. K. Bhattasali doubtfully reads the name Chatigaon in one of the coins of Ghyasuddin.[17] Ghyasuddin was thus the ruler of East, North and West

12 *JRAS*, 1896, p. 495. fn
13 *Ibid*, 1895, pp 523, 534
14 N. K. Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology*, p 72
15 Jarret, *Āin-i-Akbari*, II, 148.
16 Ghulām Husain Salim, *Riyazus-Salātin*, Eng trans. by Abdus Salam, 107.
17 *Op. cit.*

Bengal. It has already been noticed that his kingdom is called Bangālah by both Mahuan and Hafiz. Hence Mahuan does not seem to be correct when he places Chatigaon and Sonargaon out-side the limit of Bengala. This also goes against the evidence of Ibn Batūta and Shams-i-Sirāj Afif.[18] The distance and direction of Bengala from Sonatgaon, as given by Mahuan, locate the country in the neighbourhood of Satgaon.

Moslem sources

Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī[19] (*c.* 1260 A.D.) does not mention Bangālah. It states that Lakṣmaṇasena's descendants were rulers of Bang. Bang evidently means the Dacca, Faridpur, and Bakharganj districts.

Zīāu-d-dīn Barni (c. 1351 A.D.) states that Sultan Balban made Tughril viceroy of 'Lakhnautī and Bangālah' In the fifteenth or sixteenth year of Balban's reign Tughril broke out in rebellion at Lakhnautī. Balban soon occupied Lakhnautī and in a few days arrived at Sunar-ganw "The Rāī of that place, by name Danūj Rāī, met the Sultan, and an agreement was made with him that he should guard against the escape of Tughril by water." Tughril was defeated. Balban remained some days longer in Lakhnautī.[20] He placed the country under the charge of his younger son Bughrā Khān and made him take on oath that he should take Bangālah into his hand and make his position strong [21] Danūj Rāī, mentioned above, is identical with the Mahārājādhirāja Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva, who issued an inscription from Vikramapura.[22] His capital was, as Barni states Sonargaon. The country of Bangālah, which Bughrā Khān was advised to conquer, seems to have been identical with the kingdom of Danujamādhava. Bughrā Khān, who assumed the name Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, succeeded in annexing Bangālah into his kingdom by defeating Danujamādhava. Ibn Batūta[23] remarks that the sovereignty of Bangālah had belonged to Sultan Nāṣiruddīn (Bughrā Khān) After the death of the Sultan it was ruled by

18 Vide poste 19 Raverty, 558 20 Elliot, III, 112, 116, 120

21 This portion of the translation is given from the text in Bib. Ind. p. 92 Elliot's translation is—"He called his son to him in private, and made him take an oath that he would recover and secure the country of Bengal" (III, 120)

In this connection Balban is said to have asked his son to take note that if the governors of Hind, Sind, Malwa, Gujarat, Sunār-gānw, Lakhnautī revolted he would be punishing them severely (*Ibid*) The statement is evidently extravagant as Malwa and Sunār-gānw were not under the sway of Balban.

22 *Ins. Beng.*, 181. 23 *Op cit.*, Bhattasali, 136

his son Shamsuddīn. It will be seen below that Bangālah, mentioned by Ibn Batūta, comprised Dacca and Chittagong districts.

Bughrā Khān's son Ruknu-d-dīn Kaikāūs issued in 690 A.H. = A.D. 1291 coins from the mint of Lakhnautī. There is also the inscription—"from the Kharaj of Banga." Shamsuddīn Firoz, younger brother and successor of Kaikāūs, issued coins from the mint of Lakhnautī (A.H. 701-720 = A.D. 1301-1320), Sunārgānw (A.H. 705, 710 = A.D. 1305, 1310), and Banga (A.H. (70) 5 = A.D. 1305). Jalāluddīn Mahmūd, son of Firoz, issued coins in A.H. 709 = A.D. 1309 from the mint of Lakhnautī. Here also is found the inscription—"from the Kharaj of Banga."[24] Bangra referred to in these coins, is identical with Bang, mentioned in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri* All these indicate that Banga and Bangālah were used as synonymous terms.

Ibn Batūta[25] visited Bangālah in 1346-47 A.D. He relates that "the first city of Bangālah which we entered was called Sadkāwān, a big place on the shore of the great sea. The river Ganges, to which the Hindus go on pilgrimage, and the river Jun unite in that neighbourhood before falling into the sea. The people of Bangālah maintain a number of vessels on the river with which they engage in war against the inhabitants of the country of Lakhnautī. The king of Bangālah was the Sultan Fakruddin, surnamed Fakhrah.' Ibn Batūta then narrates how Fakruddīn secured the throne of Bangālah. When Fakruddīn saw that the royal authority had passed from the family of the Sultan Nāsiruddīn, whose descendant he was, "he revolted in Sadkāwan and in the cities of Bangālah,"[26] and declared independence. At this time Alī Shāh was the chief of the Lakhnautī country. Both entered into constant fight. Fakruddīn made Shyda, a fakir, viceroy of Sadkāwān. The fakir revolted when Fakruddīn was away. Fakruddīn "returned forthwith towards his capital. Shyada and his adherents fled towards the town of Sonarcāwān, which was a very inaccessible place." Fakruddīn's soldiers besieged it. Shyada was killed by the inhabitants of Sonarcāwān. From Kamru Ibn Batūta came towards the town

24 *JASB*, 1922, pp. 411, 427 f

25 Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, 458-59.

26 The passage in the quotation is a translation from the original Arabic text... *Khālafa bi Sudkāwān wa bilād Banjālāta* *Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah*—Text and Translation by C De fremcvy et le D B R Sanguinetti, vol IV, p. 214 Yule, Gibb and others wrongly translate this passage as Fakruddin "raised a revolt in Sadkāwān and Bengal." (*Cathay*, 480).

of Habnak. "Through it flows a river which descends from the mountain of Kamru," which is called blue river (Lauhitya), by which one can go to 'Bangālah and to the country of Lakhnautī.'[27]

It follows from Ibn Batūta that Sadcāwān (Chittagong?) and Sonargaon were in Bangālah, the king of which was Fakruddīn. His statement implies that Sonargaon was not the capital of Fakruddīn. This is not correct. 'Shams-i-Siraj Afīf[28] states that the Sultan Fakruddīn was the king of Sunarganw. His capital was there. Shamsuddīn attacked Sunārgānw, and slew Fakruddīn in that city. According to the same authority Sunārgānw was in the heart of Bangālah. All the coins of Fakruddīn were issued from Sonargaon (A.H. 740-749 = A.D. 1339-1348).[29] If the identification of Sadkāwān with Chittagong proves to be true it will follow that about this time Chittagong formed a part of Bangālah, which was distinct from the country of Lakhnautī.

Shams-i-Siraj Afīf, a close associate of Firūz Tughluk (A.D. 1351-1388), is the author of *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*.[30] The book relates that Shah "reached Bangālah in great strength When he arrived on the banks of the Kosi, after resting for a short time, he found the army of Shamsuddīn posted in force on the other side of the river, near its junction with the Ganges." So he went 100 *kos* up the river and crossed it. Shamsuddīn at the approach of Firūz, "abandoned the town of Pandwah and shut himself up in Ikdāla." Firūz besieged Ikdāla. Shamsuddīn was "at length compelled to take shelter in the islands (*jazāir*) of Ikdāla. The country was overrun by the troops of the Sultan, and all the raos, ranas, and zamindars of Bangālah, who joined the Sultan were favourably received. Many people of the country of Bangālah also came over to him." But Firūz could not in any way weaken the position of Shamsuddīn, who confined himself to Ikdāla. So he made a gesture of retreating towards Delhi. At this Shamsuddīn "the king of the Bangalis" came up and rushed to the attack." Firūz turned back and gave him battle. Shamsuddīn, "the king of Bangālah," fled into the fort of Ikdāla Firūz, though succeeded in occupying the town of Ikdāla, did not annex the country "for Bangālah was a land of swamps, and the nobles of the country passed their lives in their islands

27 Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Gibb, *Ibn Battūta*, pp 267-268; Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology*, 137-138.

28 Elliot, III, 303-304.

29 Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology*, 9 ff.

30 Elliot, III, 269.

(*jazāirat*). Henceforth at the order of the Sultan, Ikdāla was called Āzādpur and Pandua was called Firozabad. The Sultan returned to Delhi and Shamsuddīn reconquered the city of Ikdāla.

It has been noticed above that Shamsuddīn killed Fakruddīn in Sunārgānw and established himself in the territory of the latter. Shamsuddīn received an information that Firūz was again coming to Bengal with an army. He did not think it wise to remain in the islands of Ikdāla.[31] 'He thought within himself—'Sonārgāon is a capital town which compared with other capital towns in Bangālah, is in the most central place—there I should go.'[32] Coins of Shamsuddīn,[33] who was also known as Ilyas Shah, were issued from the mint of Sonārgāon, and their dates range from A.H. 753 to 758.

It follows from Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf that Ikdāla and the Kosi river were in the country of Bangālah, in the centre of which was Sonārgāon.

Bangālah has been mentioned in the *Humāyūn-Nāma* of Gul-badan Begam.[34] It states that Humāyūn marched against Shīr Khān (1538 A.D.). Shīr Khān made a gesture of submission. "His majesty was considering this, when the king of Gaura·Bangāla came wounded and a fugitive. For this reason he gave no attention (to Shīr Khān), but marched towards Gaura Bangāla." At this Shīr Khān advanced and met his son, who was in Gaur. At the approach of Humāyūn Shīr Khān fled away. "Thence he (Humāyūn) went to Gaura Bangāla and took it. He was nine months in the far away country of Gaur, and named it Jannatābād."

The expression 'Gaura Bangāla' may mean—'Gaur is identical with Bangālah,' or—'Gaur is situated in Bangālah.' There are expressions like Fatḥpūr-Sikrī, Pattan-Nahrwāla etc., on the one hand, and Panduā-Bangālah, Rājmahal-Bangāla on the other.[35] 'Abbās Khān,[36] an officer under Akbar, while narrating Humāyūn's invasion of Bangālah, states that

31 Elliot, III, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298

32 This statement in the quotation has been translated from the original text (Bib. Ind., p. 143) Elliot translates the passage as—"He deemed it expedient to remove to Sunār-gānw, which was in the very centre of Bengal and there secure himself against the enemy" (III, 305)

33 Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology*, 27.

34 Text and Eng. trans. by A S Beveridge, 133, 134, 138.

35 *JASB.*, 1920, p. 201, 202; Khafi Khān, I, 468 Cf *Kalpadrukośa*, G. O. S. XLII, p. 106, v. 154, *Śrīkṣetraṃ Gauḍa. Vaṅgālam āṅgireyaṃ tu madhyamam.*

36 Elliot, IV, 356.

the emperor "proceeded himself to Gaur, the capital of Bangālah, where he lay for three months." *Āīn-i-Akbarī*[37] reports that "Jannatābād is an ancient city: for a time it was the capital of Bengal and was widely known as Lakhnautī and for a while as Gaur." Hence Gaur Bangāla, mentioned in Gul-badan, should be taken to mean 'Gaur situated in Bangālah.' In this connection another important evidence may be taken into account.

Bāyazīd Biyāt[38] held an office in Akbar's kitchen. He dictated his memairs at Lahore in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91). Beveridge remarks that Bāyazīd Biyāt "gives an account of Mun'im Khān's removing his head-quarters from Tānda to Gaur (which Bāyazīd also calls Bangālah)."

Abul Fazal in his *Āīn-i-Akbarī*[39] remarks that the "original name of Bangālah, was Bang." Its former rulers raised mounds called Āl throughout the province. "From this suffix, the name Bangālah took its rise and currency." The Subah of Bangālah's "length from Chittagong to Garhi is four hundred *kos*. Its breadth from the northern range of mountain to the southern frontier of the Sarkar of Madāran, is two hundred *kos*, and when the country of Orissa was added to the Sūbah, the additional length was forty three *kos* and the breadth twentythree. It is bounded on the east by the sea, on the north and south by mountains, and on the west by the Sūbah of Behar. The tract of the country on the east, called Bhāti, is reckoned a part of this province. It is rūled by Isa Afghān." "Adjoining it, is an extensive tract of country inhabited by the Tipperah tribes. The name of the ruler is Bijay Mānik." "To the south-east of Bangālah is a considerable tract called Arakan which possesses the port of Chittagong."

It appears from Abul Fazl's above statements that the whole of modern Bengal came to be known as Bangālah during the reign of Akbar. In some coins of Akbar the mint name is given as Bangālah.[40] Major Vost identifies the mint name Bangālah with Gaur on the ground that Gaur is known to be identical with Bangālah from the account of Bāyazīd.[41] Mr. S. H. Hodivala is inclined to identify Bangālah of the coin with the city of Akbarnagar.[42] Bangālah of the coins might be referring to the country of this name. In Akbar's coins there are mint marks Kashmir, Srinagar etc.[43]

37 Jarret, II, 122.
38 *JASB*, 1898, p 315
39 Jarret, II, 116, 117, 119, 120.
40 *I.M.C.*, III, 35; *Numis Suppl* XI, 320
41 *Num Suppl.* XI, 320
42 *JASB.*, 1920, p 209.
43 *Ibid*, p. 211. Cf above fn. 24

European sources

Barbosa visited India in 1516 A.D.[44] He states.... ."Beyond the Ganges, onward towards the East, is the kingdom of Bengala, wherein there are many places and cities, as well inland as on the sea-coast. Those in the interior are inhabited by Gentiles, who are subject to the king of Bengala, who is a Moor; and the stations on the coast are full of Moors and Gentiles, among whom are many merchants and traders to all parts."

Ralph Fitch,[45] an English merchant, visited Bengal in 1586 A.D. He states that "from Patanaw (Patna) I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gauren" (Gaur). "It standeth in the country of Bengala." "I went from Bengala into the country of Couche (Kuch Behar), which lieth 25 days journey northwards from Tanda." "From thence I returned to Hugeli (Hugli), which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which standeth 23 degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Satagam (Satgaon)· they call it Porto Piqueno." "Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores and very plentiful of all things. Here in Bengala they haue every day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau." "From Satagam I trauelled by the countrey of the king of Tippara or Porto Grande." ....."Chatigan or Porto Grande is often times vnder the King of Recon." "From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola;" "From Bacola I went to Serrepore which standeth vpon the riuer of Ganges." "Sinnergan (Sonargaon) is a town sixe leagues from Serrepore."

According to Ralph Fitch, Gaur, Satgaon, and Chatigaon were in the country of Bengala. Sonargaon, Sripur, and Bacola were obviously situated in it.

William Hawkins visited India in 1608 A.D. and lived there till 1613 A.D. He states that the Moghul empire was divided into five great kingdoms. "The first named Pengab (Punjab), whereof Lahore

44 His itinerary "Indie Orientali" was published from Lisbon. It has been incorporated in Ramusio's *"Delle Navigationi et Viaggi"*, published from Venice in 1563. Badger, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, London, 1863, Hakluyt Series, Intro CXIV, CXV.

45 J. Horton Ryley, *Ralph Fitch*, London, 1899, pp 110, 111, 113-115, 118, 100; William Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 24 f. Satgaon is now an insignificant village near Magra in the Hughly district.

is the chiefe seate; the second is Bengala, the chiefe seate Sonargham" (Sonargaon).[46]

Pierre du Jarric published his book *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues aux Indes Orientales* from Bordeaux sometime between A.D. 1608 and 1614. He states that the country of Bengala comprises about 200 leagues of sea-coast. Chandikan, Sripur, and Bacola were situated in it. The island of Sundiva is very near the shore of Bengala. Sundiva is six leagues from Sripura. Dianga is a city in the port of Chatigam.[47]

Sir Thomas Roe[48] visited India in 1615 A.D. He remarks that Bengala is "a mightie Kingdom enclosing the Western syd of the Bay on the North and wyndeth southerly. It bordereth on Coromandell. The chief cityes are Ragmehhal (Rajmahal) and Dekaka (Dacca). There are many Hauens, as Port Grande (Chittagong), Port Pequina (Hugli), traded by the Portugals, Piltptan (Piplipatam), Satigam (Satgaon). It conteyneth diuers Prouinces, as that of Purup and Patan."

Samuel Purchas[49] (1625 AD) states that "the kingdome of Bengala is very large, and hath of coast one hundred and twentie leagues, and as much within land. Francis Fernandes measureth it from the confines of the kingdome of Ramu or Porto Grande (Chittagong) to Palmerine, ninety miles beyond Porto Pequene (Hugli), in all six hundred miles long The river Caberis, (which some call Guenga and think it to be the ancient Ganges), watereth it":

Fray Sebastien Manrique[50] came from Spain to India in 1628 A.D. and lived there till 1641. He visited Hugli, Dacca, Gaura, Rajmahal and Chittagong. He relates that the Danes sailed from Ceylon, and "the first point of land they identified was in Bengala, being the temple of

46 Foster, *Early Travels of India*, p 100

47 IV. Partie. 1610 A D &—Chs. XXIX, XXX, XXXII, XXXIIII, Text, Eng. and Bengali Trans. APP, "*Kedar Ray*", by Jogendra Nath Gupta; *JASB.*, 1913, IX, 438 Pierre du Jarric was born in France in 1565 and died in 1616. He collected materials for his book from the letters written by Bengal Mission to Nicholas Pimenta and from Felixa da Guzman's work, published in 1601.

48 William Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol II, 538.

49 *Voyages*, vol. V, 508

50 C. E. Luard, and H. Hosten, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, Tran. Eng. vol. I, 53, vol II, 91, 288, 310. For the identification of some of the provinces, vol. I, 49-51.

Jagarnatte in the kingdom of Orissa." "The principalities of Bengala consist twelve provinces, that is to say, Bengala, Augelim, Ourixa, Jassor, Chandekan, Midimpur, Catrabo, Bacala, Solimanvas, Bulva, Dacca, and Rajamol." In former time "all these provinces" were under the "Emperor of Bengala."

"This monarch of Bengala lived in the city of Gouro, which will be described in due course. Under him he had twelve princes, one in each of these Provinces, and known to the people as the twelve Boiones of Bengal." Chief towns of Bengala are "Daack. Rajamol, Medinimpur, Barduan, Katrabo, Cateca. Its most frequented ports are Ugulim, founded by the Portuguese, Piple in the kingdom of Ourixa, and Balassor in the same Principality."

Authenticity of Manrique's above statement has been called in question. The power of the Twelve Bhuiyas was crushed down by the Mughals before 1613. Reverend Hosten[51] remarks that "the Bhuiyas of Manrique's Bengala must then have been governors, not of a mythical city, but of the district where the King or the Emperor had his capital at the time being.' "Bhuiya of Bengala in Manrique's time governed the district of Tanda."

Jean-Albert de Mandelslo[52] came to India in 1638 and left the country in 1660. He states that next to Orixa, winding towards the North, lyes the Kingdome of Bengala " "The Kingdome of Pegu joyns upon Bengala, upon the east-side."

Peter Heylyn[53] was born in England in 1599 and died there in 1662 He reports that "Bengala is bounded on the North with Patanaw, on the East, with the Kingdom of Pegu; on the South and West, with the Gulf of Bengala."[54]

Bernier[55] visited Bengal in 1665 He places Raje-Mehale and Oguli in the country of Bengala He refers to the islands of Lower Bengala.

Nicolo di Conti (early fifteenth century),[56] Caesar Frederick (1563 A.D.),[57] V. le Blanc (c. 1570 A.D.),[58] Lins-

51 *JASB.*, 1913, IX, 445

52 *'Voyages Celebres and Remarquables,* Faits de Perse Aux Indes Orientales' Eng. Tr. by John Davies (1662), quoted in Badger. *Travels of Varthema*, p 211, fn

53 Peter Heylyn has written *Cosmographie*, in Four Bookes The Third book deals with India It was first published in 1652.

54 *Cosmographie,* (1682), p. 209, 210.

55 *Travels in the Moghul Empire* by F Bernier, ed. A Constable, (1891), 175

56 *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, M. Gio. Battista Ramusio, Venice, 1563.

57 *Purchas His Pilgrimes,* X.

58 Yule, *Cathay etc.*, II, 466 fn.

choten (1596 A.D.),[59] Nicholas Pimenta (1599 A.D.),[60] Monsieur de Monsart (end of the sixteenth century).[61] and many others refer to the country of Bengala.

According to European sources thus the country of Bengala extended from the border of Bihar and Orissa to Chittagong, and on the south upto the sea-coast.

Ludovico di Varthema,[62] a merchant from Bologna, visited India in 1503 A.D., and published his itinerary in Italian language from Rome in 1510 A.D. He states that from Tarnassari "we took the route towards the city of Banghella (Bengala), which is distant from Tarnassari seven hundred miles." "This city was one of the best that I had hitherto seen, and has a very great realm. The sultan of this place is a Moor,...", "and he is constantly at war with the king of Narsingha." It was a great emporium for trade. "Fifty ships are laden every year in this place with cotton and silks stuffs" etc. Varthema closes his account with the remark "We left this city (Banghella), which I believe is the best in the world, that is, for living in."

Barbosa (1516) relates that "this sea forms a gulf which bends towards the north, at the head of which is situated a great city inhabited by Moors, which is called Bengala, with a good port." "In the same city there are many foreigners from all parts, including Arabia, Persia and Abyssinia."[63]

The book *Sommario de' Regni*, etc., incorporated in Ramusio's *Delle Navigationi et. Viaggi* (1563),[64] lays down—"of the seaports of the kingdom (Bengala), the principal is in the city of Bengala, from which the kingdom takes its name. One goes in two days from the mouth of the Ganges to the city, which (mouth of the Ganges) now goes by the name of Sino Gangetico or Gulf of Bengal, and in the best roadsteads the water is three braccia deep. The city contains about 40,000 hearths, and the king has a residence

59 A. C. Burnell and Tiele, *The Voyages of John Huyghen Van Linschoten*, (ed. 1885)

60 *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, X, Eng. & Bengali Tran *Pratāpādītya*, ed. N. N. Ray, App.

61 *Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies*, etc, (1615), p 25.

62 *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, G P Badger, (1863), Sir Richard Carnac Temple, pp. 19, 79.

63 This quotation continues after that given above, cf. *ante* fn 44

64 Vol I, 333, trans. by Badger, *op cit*, Intro. cxv.

there at all times, which is the only one covered with tiles, and is built with well-made bricks."

The French traveller V. le Blanc[65] visited Bengal about 1570 A.D. He relates that he came "to the kingdom of Bengala, the principal city of which is also called Bengale by the Portuguese and other nations; but the people of that country call it Batacouta." "Ships ascend the Ganges to it, a distance of twenty miles by water" etc.

Thomas Herbert (first half of the seventeenth century) states that Bengala was anciently called Baracoura.[66]

Patavino (1597) refers to Gaur Bengala Catigan and Satigan.[67]

Monsieur de Monsart, a French traveller, visited India at the end of the sixteenth century. He reports that from the city of St. Thomas, founded by the Portuguese "I returned to Conchin, and from Conchin to the kingdome of Bengala, wherein the Portugals also hold the capitall citty, and best fortresse, of which the whole kingdome takes their name, which notwithstanding, is very small and of little strength."[67a]

Here the implication is that the capital city of the Portuguese was called Bengala.

Samuel Purchas (1625) lays down that "Gouro, the seat Royall, and Bengala, are faire cities." "Chatigan is also reckoned amongst these cities."[68]

Jean-Albert de Mandelslo who visited in 1638 reports that Gouro, Ougely, Chatigan, Bengala, Tanda, Dacca, Patana, Banares, Elabas (Allahabad), and Ragmehela are cities in the kingdom of Bengala.[69]

Methold states that Bengala and Rajmahal are the two principal and beautiful cities in the kingdom of Bengal.[70]

Peter Heylyn (1599-1662) lays down that of the cities of the kingdom of Bengala the principal one is "Bengala, which gave name to the whole kingdom, situate on a branch of the River Ganges, and reckoned for one

65 Quoted by Yule, *op cit.*, II, 466, fn. Au Royaume de Bengale, dont la principale ville est aussi appellee Bengale par les Portugais, et par les autres nations, mais ceux du pais l'appellent Batacouta 66 *Ibid*

67 *Geog. Univ tum Vet tum Novae absolutissimum opus,*—quoted by Badger, *op cit.*, Intro. lxxx, lxxxi.

67a *Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies*, London, 1615, p. 25.

68 *Voyages*, V, 508. 69 Cf fn. 52

70 Mandelslo, *Voyages*, 290; Badger, *op cit*, 211, fn.

of the most beautiful Towns of all the Indies. Exceedingly enriched by trade, but more by Pilgrimages, by reason of the holiness and divine operations ascribed by the Indians to the waters of it: there being few years in which not visited by three or four hundred thousand Pilgrims." Peter Heylyn obviously connects the city of Bengala with Gaṅgāsāgar. He places the cities of Patna, Benares, Sripura (in the Dacca district), Chandican, Satgaon in the kingdom of Patna, and mentions that the cities of Gauro, (the seat Royal of the ancient kings), Catigan, Taxda, Porto Grande and Porto Pequeno were situated in the kingdom of Bengal. It is known from other sources that Catigan and Porto Grande are identical.[71]

F r y e r (1672-1681)[72] states that there was "superintendent over all the factories on the coast of Coromandels as far as the Bay of Bengala, and up Huygly River (which is one of the falls of Ganges) viz., Fort St. George alias Maderas, Pettipolee, Mechlapatan, Gundore, Medapollon, Balisore, Bengala, Huygly, Castle Buzzar. Pattanaw."[73]

Among the European travellers, referring to the city of Bengala, Ludovico di Varthema, Barbosa, V. le Blanc, and Monsieur de Monsart are definitely known to have visited India or Bengal. Badger doubts whether Mandelslo ever visited the city of Bengala.

Sommario de' Regni, Monsart, and Peter Heylyn state that the kingdom of Bengala was known as such after the name of the city of Bengala. If this proves to be true it will establish that the city of Bengala was in existence before the eleventh century A.D But the Sanskrit and Moslem sources, hitherto known, do not mention the name of this city V. le Blanc seems to have disclosed the real state of things. He makes it clear that the city, which was known to the people of Bengal as Batacouta, was called by the Portuguese and other foreigners as Bengala. This points out that there was no city of the name of Bengala in Bengal before the advent of the Europeans. Batacouta which is identical with Batacoura, mentioned by Sir Thomas Herbert, cannot be identified. It reminds us of the city of Paṭṭikerā, mentioned in the Maināmati copper-plate,[74] dated Śaka 1141 = A.D 1219.

71 *Cosmographie*, 209, 210, cf. fn 53

72 *A New Account of East India and Persia* (1698), p 38, *JASB*, 1920, p 204

73 Ralph Fitch, Sir Thomas Roe, Sebastian Manrique, etc do not mention the name of the city of Bengala.

74 *IHQ*, IX, 289 But Paṭṭikerā was far off from the Ganges, on the bank of

Barbosa places the city of Bengala on the mouth of the Ganges. According to Sommario de' Regni it was two days' journey from the mouth of the Ganges. V. le Blanc places it on the bank of the Ganges twenty miles off from the sea. It is evident from Peter Heylyn's report that the Ganges, on the bank of which the city of Bengala was situated, was none other than the Bhāgīrathi, the mouth of which is known as Gaṅgāsāgar, a place of pilgrimage to the Hindus from early times.

Ludovico di Varthema and Barbosa closely associate this city with the Moors, and describe it as a great emporium for trade. The only city, in Bengal, which was associated with the Moors about this time, was Satgaon. This is known from Ralph Fitch, who does not mention about the city of Bengala but gives a detailed description of various cities in the country of Bengala. He also speaks of the brisk mercantile activities that were carried in Satgaon. A comparison of Varthema's account of Bengala with the description of Satgaon (on the Ganges) by Ralph Fitch will lead one to the conclusion that the two cities were identical. This will, however, go against the reports of Patavino and Peter Heylyn, who distinguish Satgaon from the city of Bengala But as none of them visited India their statements in this connection may not be taken seriously. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that Peter Heylyn distinguishes Catigan from Porto Grande though they were identical. Varthema never saw a beautiful city like Bengala. Samuel Purchas thinks that Gaura and Bengala were the fairest cities in Bengal, and Peter Heylyn is of the opinion that it was one of the most beautiful towns of all the Indies. It is known from other sources that Satgaon was one of the most beautiful cities in Bengal about this time.

Ralph Fitch and Sir Thomas Roe associate the Portuguese, with Port Pequina (Hugly). So the capital city of the Portuguese, mentioned by Monsart, which seems to be referring to the city of Bengala, may be taken as identical with Port Pequina But Mandelslo and Peter Heylyn distinguish Bengala from Hugly. Thus according to Varthema the city of Bengala seems to have been Satgaon, according to Monsart it was, probably Hugly, and according to V. le Blanc it was Batacouta.[75]

which Bengala was situated. There was a flourishing village named Betor, on the Ganges, near Satgaon (*JASB.*, 1892, p. 109).

75 Bayazid Biyat identifies the city of Gaur with Bangālah. Cf. fn. 38.

Maps of the 14th—17th centuries

Some Maps of the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also refer to the city of Bengala.

Yule remarks that "Bengala appears as a city in the curious and half obliterated *Portulano Mediceo* of the Laurentian Library (1351 A.D.)"[76]

Carta Catalana (1375 A.D.)[77] locates it near the sea approximately on the mouth of the Bhagirathi. The Bhagirathi has not been shown in the Map. At a considerable distance from this place to the east is the river Finis Indiae (Brahmaputra). A little to the north of Bengala is the place Bassia, and to its north-east to the west of the Finis Indiae is Michem. Nearest place mentioned to its south-west is Butifites. Catigaon, Satgaon or other well known cities of Bengal have not been shown

Yule remarks that Fra Mauro's Map (fifteenth century) shows Bengala, Sonargauam, Satgauam, and Scierno.[78]

In Gastaldi's Map (1561)[79] the Ganges flows to the east. Three branches from it flow southward to the sea On the right bank of the western branch, on its mouth, is Satigan. Between the middle and the eastern branches, in the interior, is Bengala To the east of the eastern branch, to the south-east of Bengala, is Cattigan. Regno de Bengala is to the north of the main source of Ganga and to the east of the eastern branch Gaur, Satigan, Bengala, and Cattgan are placed outside the limit of that country.

India Orientalis (1597)[80] mentions Gouro, Satigan, Catigan, and Bengala. Bengala is near the mouth of a river (Brahmaputra?).

Map of Asia by Hondius (1612)[81] shows, to the east of the Ganges, five rivers, which, taking their rise from a lake in the region of the Himalaya, flow southward to the sea. Second branch from the west is Cosmin flu. In the delta of the Cosmin flu is Bengala bounded by its two

76 *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, 465-466, fn.

77 Attached to *Cathay* etc., the title given—'*Asia*', from sheets II, III, & IV, of the Catalan Map of 1375, reduced and condensed from the facsimiles in *Notices et Extraits*, &c. Tom XIV

78 *Cathay* etc II, 466 fn

79 Attached to *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* by Badger

80 Attached to Patavino's *Geog etc op cit.*

81 Attached to *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, 544

branches. To the north-west of Bengala, to the west of Cosmin flu, is Catigam.

Map of the East Indies by Hondius (1612)[82] shows the position of Bengala just as the previous one. Bicanpur (Vikramapura) is shown on the sea coast to the west of Cosmin flu. Catigam has not been mentioned.

William Baffin's *Indolstani*[83] shows three rivers, without any connection between themselves, flowing to the sea. The western river is Ganges flu, on the left bank of which, on the mouth, is Satgaon. To the east of the river, in the middle, at a distance, on the sea coast, is Bicanpor. To the east of Bicanpor is Catigam. To the east of Catigam in the delta of the Cosmin flu bounded by its two branches is Bengala The country of Bengala extends from Berar little to the east of the Cosmin flu.

N. Sauson's *Empire du Gr Mogol* (1652)[84] shows Chatigam to the west and Bengala to the east of a river. Bengala is to the south-east of Chatigam. To the west of Chatigam further off is another river to the right bank of which is Dacca.

A Map of the *East Indies*[85] by D. Christoph Bathurst M.D. shows five rivers to the east of the Ganges taking their rise from a lake and flowing to the sea Bengala is placed on the sea coast between the first two rivers from the west No other sea port town has been shown.

Philippi Chetwind's Map *Asiae Descriptio Nova Impensis* (1666)[86] shows the position of the rivers as above. To the east of the second branch (from the west), named here as Cosmin flu, are Bengala and Chatiga. Bengala is to the south of Chatiga. Bacola is to the east of Satgam on the right bank of the Ganges.

Imper Il-Magni Mogolis[87] places Chatigan to the west and Bengala to the east of the Caor flu. To the north-east of Chatigan in the interior is Bengala. To the west of Chatigan near the coast is Dacca. At the mouth of the river Caor flu is the island of Sundiva

82 Dacca Museum Collection

83 Attached to Foster, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*

84 Attached to the article *The Lost City*, by H. J Rainey, in *Mookerjee's Magazine*, New Series, I, 343

85 Olearius, *The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors*, Trans by J. Davies, (1662).

86 Attached to Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie*.

87 Attached to *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, by F. Bernier, ed. Archibald Constable, 1891, p. 454.

M o n s   T a u e r n i e r   M a n d e s l o ' s *L'India'* (1683)[88] shows the river Jiume Cosmin o' di Bengala to the east of the river Laquia. To the east of the Jiume Cosmin o' di Bengala is the city of Bengala. To the right bank of this river on its mouth, and to the south of Bengala, is Catigaon.

P i e r r e   V a n d e r. AA-*Carte du Golfe du Bengale* etc. (1727)[89] locates Bengala to the north-east of Catigaon. A river flows between these two cities to the sea [90]

There is thus no agreement between the early maps in regard to the situation of Bengala. *Carta Catalana* places it approximately in West Bengal. Gastaldi locates it to the north-west of Chittagong. Hondius and some others place it in the delta of Cosmin flu to the south-east of Chittagong. But according to Gastaldi, *Imper Il-Magni Mogolis* and some others it is an inland-city. Philippi Chetwind places both Chatiga and Bengala to the east of Cosmin flu. The same authority places Bengala to the south of Chatigan. *Imper Il-Magni Mogolis* and *Carte du Golfe du Bengale* locate it to the north-east of Catigan All these maps except possibly *Carta Catalana* locate Bengala far to the east of the Bhagirathi. Some of them place it on the bank of the Cosmin flu, which is distinct from the Ganges. But this goes against the reports of V. le Blank, Barbosa and others, who place the city on the bank of the Bhagirathi.

Consideration of all these reports about the location of the city of Bengala has led some scholars to think that there was never a town properly called as such. This name was given by the European travellers to variety of places, particularly the chief ports. The chief supporters of this view are Ovington[91] (1696), H. Yule,[92] Blochman,[93] Rev. Hosten,[94] and J

88 Imperial Library, (Calcutta), collection.

89 Attached to Jean-Albert de Mandelslo's—*Voyages Celebres and remarquables*, Faitts de Perse Aux Indes Orientales There are two other maps referring to Bengala in this book viz, Pierre Vander AA-*Les Indes Orientales* (1727), Pierre Vander AA-*Royaume du Grand Mogol*, (1727)

90 Badger (*op cit*.) gives a list of about fourteen maps in the collection of British Museum. They refer to Bengala *Van-den Broucke's Map* (1660 A D.) does mention any city of the name of Bengala.

91 *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, 75-77.

92 *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, 466 "Yule does not put any importance on the maps showing the city of Bengala He remarks "one of the latest atlases containing the city of Bengala is that of Cornelli (Venice 1691), and he adds the judicious comment, '*creduta favolosa*'."

93 *JASB*., 1873, p 233.

94 *Ibid*, 1913, p 437.

Campos.[95] Ovington thinks that the city was to the south of Chittagong. Yule says that it was either Sonargaon or Chittagong. Campos identifies it with Chittagong. It has already been noticed that Satgaon seems to have been called as Bengala by some early travellers.[96]

Results of all the discussions made above may be summarised in the following way. In the eleventh century Dacca district was in the country of Vaṅgāla. In the thirteenth century the Chinese sources seem to be suggesting that Sonargaon, in the Dacca district, was situated in it. In the fourteenth century Sonargaon is definitely known to have been the capital of Vaṅgāla, which extended from Dacca to Chittagong. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Lakhnautī or Gaur, which had so long been outside the limit of Vaṅgāla, was included in it. By the end of this century Vaṅgāla comprised the whole country now known as Bengal. There was no city properly called Bengala.

D. C. GANGULY

95 J Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, 76 fn 77 Cf "Bengala" by S. H Hodivālā, *JASB*, 1920, p 199

96 Badger, Rennell, B N Basu Thakur (*Bāngālā nagari*, in Bengali, *Dacca Review and Sammilan*, Bānglā Sam 1321, p 345) and Dr R C Majumdar think that there was in reality a city named Bengala According to Badger it occupied a position between Hattia and Sundeep islands, situated at the present mouth of the Brahmaputra Rennell suggests that it had been carried away by the river Mr. Basu Thakur does not make any attempt to identify the city. Dr Majumdar thinks that it was very likely Dianga near Chittagong (*Lama Tāranātha's Account of Bengal*, *IHQ*, XVI, 13) Dr Majumdar's view that Ibn Batūta refers to the city of Bengala is based on the incorrect French and English translation of the Arabic text Cf. *ante* fn. 26.

A pre-historic Tree Cult

In the present investigation an attempt is made to trace the history of the Fig tree cult which is known to be of old origin and is widely popular in India. Generally four varieties of the Fig tree are known viz., Ficus Carica, Ficus Glomerata (*udumbara*), Ficus Indica (*vaṭa*, banyan) and Ficus religiosa (*aśvattha*). Of the four varieties the *vaṭa* and the *aśvattha* are better known. The *vata* is known in Sanskrit as *nyāgrodha, bhāṇḍīra* and is regarded as the abode of Yama (Yamapriya), the Yakṣas etc. It is called the lord of trees (*vṛkṣanātha*). The *aśvattha* is the abode of Acyuta, it is the tree of milk (kṣīra-druma), of knowledge (bodhi-druma). It is commonly called *peepula, pipal* or *pipar* The cult of the Fig tree generally means the cult of the aśvattha or pipal though the vata and the pipal are sometimes planted together and worship is offered to both. This cult widely prevails in India at the present time among the Hindus and Hinduised tribes as also the Buddhists and Jains. Evidence in the sacred literature, Hindu and Buddhist, as well as archaeological evidence show that the cult was equally popular in the past among the Hindus and Buddhists There is also evidence, mainly archaeological, showing that the cult of the Fig tree was known in pre-historic Indian religion. It is expected, therefore, that an enquiry into this cult will throw some light on the cultural relations between Indian peoples in different historical ages

The *pipal* appears among the pre-historic finds in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan in three forms (1) representation of the pipal leaf (2) representation of the branch of the pipal tree and (3) representation of the whole tree. Among the ceramic objects unearthed in the course of explorations in Sind by the late Mr N. G. Majumdar are some painted pottery with designs of the pipal leaf (*Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48. Chanhu-Daro finds, p 37; Lohunjo-Daro finds of painted potsherd Lh. 112, Lh. 116. Lh 178). Among Chanhu-Daro finds there also appears a seal depicting a whole pipal tree (Pl. XVII, 44) and another seatite seal with the same device (Pl. XVII, 34). The pipal tree appears again on the neck of a vase (Gs 100) among the finds at the mound of Ghazi Shah at Johi and pipal branches appear on two sherds (Gs 13, Gs 113-Pp, 95-103), and on another painted potsherd from the

mound at Pandi Wahi (Pw 92, P. 109). In the *Annual Report* of the A.S.I., 1924-25 Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni notices among the finds at Harappa a square seal of white plaster which "shows probably a pipal tree *enclosed by a railing*" (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5 p. 74). In the *Memoir* no. 37 of the A.S.I. (An Archaeological tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan) Sir Aurel Stein notices fig leaf representations on painted pottery (Pl. D1, Pl. XV, D N. C 8; D W. 1. 1 and Pl. XVI) In *Memoir* no. 43 (An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia) he reports several finds of fig leaf representations on painted pottery (Pl. XXI, Zik 3; Pl. XXIII, Ku IV. 5, Pl. XXV, Siah 4, branches and leaves), Pl. XXIX, Mehi. II 8. 3., Pl. XXX, Mehi. II 4, 5 Pl. XXXIII, Saka 3 etc. Among plant designs on painted pottery the pipal motif, leaves, branches and tree, is the most frequent. The fern, date palm and floral motifs also appear, but less frequently. The seals with representations of the whole pipal tree are important, because they indicate that the pipal had probably other uses than mere decoration of painted pottery.

Sir John Marshall writes "On certain sealings from Harappa (Pl XII-16, 20, 21, 25 and 26) various sacred trees are represented which it is difficult to identify. A point of some interest is that two at least of the trees on these sealings spring from what appears to be an enclosing wall or railing such as commonly encircles the roots of sacred trees on later reliefs of the historic period, and were regarded as almost indispensable symbols of their sanctity [1] Marshall explains these sealings as examples of the worship of the trees in their natural forms Of the other kind of tree-worship he says, "That the animistic conceptions which have distinguished the worship of trees throughout the historic period were common to the Chalcolithic age is clear from several seals and sealings. One of the most important of these is reproduced in Pl. XII, Fig. 18". Marshall says that the tree-goddess appears between two branches by which the tree is represented [2] On other seals e.g., Pl. XII, 13, 14, 19 and also 15 and 22, the tree appears conventionalised into the form of an arch surrounded by leaves in which the deity is found as if standing in a shrine [3] Marshall's inference from the leaves is that the tree is pipal.[4] He says, "Thus we have at both Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa two forms of tree worship represented, one in

1 Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation*, I, p 65

2 *Ibid*, p 63 3 *Ibid*, p. 63, note 2. 4 *Ibid*, p. 64.

which the tree itself is worshipped in its natural form, the other in which the tree spirit is personified and endowed with human shape and human attributes."[5]

It is important to note that in both of these two forms of worship the tree selected appears to be the pipal. Thus among pre-historic finds in Sind, Baluchistan, Waziristan, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro the pipal appears both as a decorative motif and as an object of worship. The sacred character of the tree is clearly indicated in the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa representations, but representations of the whole tree in sealings unearthed at other places may also be regarded as cult-objects, because these representations on sealings of the whole tree could not possibly be a decorative device nor could they serve any material purpose and because other trees, which appear as artistic motifs on painted pottery do not, so far as is known, appear in sealings. The strongest reason for identifying them as sacred objects is of course the prevalence of a developed cult, as it seems, of the pipal at Mohen-Daro and Harappa. What ideas were associated with this chalcolithic cult of the Fig tree cannot be known and it is no use guessing them at this stage on the evidence of analogy in historical times.

On coming down to the Vedic literature it is found that "vessels made of the aśvattha wood are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*[6] The word pippala occurs in the *Ṛgveda*[7] referring to the fruit which birds find tasteful. The hard wood of the aśvattha formed the upper of the two pieces of wood used for kindling fire."[8] The medicinal properties of the aśvattha are referred to once where it is said that herbs sit on it.[9] The nyāgrodha is not mentioned by name in the *Ṛgveda* but according to Macdonell and Keith it seems to have been known as has been shown by Pischel that sacrificial bowls were made of its wood.[10] In the *Atharva Veda* the aśvattha and the nyāgrodha sometimes appear together while the aśvattha frequently appears alone. The udumbara also appears often. From the aśvattha wood are prepared amulets which secure the defeat and destruction of the wearer's enemies.[11] With the branch of the tree one succeeds in banishing and expelling one's enemies.[12] The tree is invoked to rend a hostile army.[13] The aśvattha

5 *Ibid.*, p. 65
6 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I, pp 43, 44.
7 *Ṛgveda*, I 164 20
8 *Vedic Index*, vol I, pp 43, 44
9 *Ṛgveda*, X, 97 5
10 *Vedic Index*, vol I, p 462
11 *Atharva Veda*, III. 6. 1 f
12 *Ibid*, II, 6, 8.
13 *Ibid.*, VIII, 8. 3

growing on a śami appears in a charm to ensure the birth of a male child.[14] It has healing properties.[15] The fruit of the aśvattha appears in a charm to heal punctured wounds.[16] From the aśvattha and nyāgrodha springs the plant śilāci which mends a broken bone.[17] The gods sit under the aśvattha in the third heaven.[18] It and the nyāgrodha are inhabited by the Gandharvas and Apsarases who are prayed to be propitious to a wedding party.[19] The amulet of the udumbara tree helps one who longs for wealth. It gives plenty in cattle, corn and children.[20] It is foe-killing.[21] It is the lord of amulets,[22] it gives vigour.[23] Regarding the origin of the nyāgrodha the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has the following. "When the gods after the successful performance of their sacrifice went to heaven, they tilted over the Soma cups when the nyāgrodha tree grew up ....They grew first at Kurukṣetra, from them all others originated."[24] The nyāgrodha is a Kṣatra.[25] The aśvattha has sovereignity over the trees.[26] Coming to the sūtras it is found that the nyāgrodha shoot pounded with rice and barley grains appears in the production of intelligence of the child.[27] The aśvattha is to be avoided on the east side of the house, the nyāgrodha on the west side and the udumbara on the north side. The aśvattha brings danger from fire, the nyāgrodha brings oppression through hostile arms, the udumbara brings diseases of the eye. The aśvattha is sacred to the sun, the nyāgrodha is the tree that belongs to Varuṇa and the udumbara to Prajāpati.[28]

Thus the sanctity of the aśvattha was recognised in the *Ṛgveda* and it also bears evidence to the existence of a tradition regarding its healing properties In the *Atharva-Veda* the aśvattha, in addition to its religious sanctity, acquires magical potency along with the udumbara. The destruction of enemies, birth of a male child and healing of wounds are the purposes which the pipal helps to achieve. The udumbara is a giver of plenty. The pipal and the vata become also abodes of spirits, not regarded as evil. In the sūtras different varieties of the fig tree become associated with

14 *Ibid.*, VI, 11. 1
15 *Ibid*, VIII, 7 20
16 *Ibid*, VI, 110. 1
17 *Ibid*, V, 5 2-5
18 *Ibid*, V, 4 3
19 *Ibid*, IV, 37. 4
20 *Ibid*, XIX, 31 1 4 5 etc
21 *Ibid*, XIX, 31. 8
22 *Ibid*, XIX, 31. 11
23 *Ibid*, XIX, 31. 12.
24 *Aitareya Brāhmana*, VII, 3 30
25 *Ibid*, VIII, 2 16
26 *Ibid*, VII, 3. 32
27 *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtras*, II, 7-18
28 *Ibid.*, IV, 7.

different deities, but at the same time they acquire an evil aspect so that it becomes necessary to avoid them on some occasions.

The attributes of the fig tree are stressed in the Epics and Purāṇas. Viṣṇu is identified with the aśvattha, nyāgrodha and udumbara.[29] The aśvattha represents that tree of life which is rooted in heaven above.[30] The vaṭa and udumbara retain their evil aspect and are taboo[31] Mahādeva is identified with nyāgrodha, (*nyāgrodharūpa*). He is identified also with the aśvattha.[32] Kārtikeya is said to live continuously in the vaṭa tree.[33] The aśvattha is to be worshipped daily by men.[34] The *Mahābhārata* as well as the Rāmāyaṇa testify to the great popularity of the cult of Caitya-vṛkṣas which were the aśvattha.[35] According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* if utensils used in worship are made of udumbara wood Viṣṇu is particularly pleased. The aśvattha and udumbara promote conception and it is related that the mother of Viśvāmitra and the mother of Jāmadagni were asked by Bhṛgu to embrace these trees after their menstrual period for obtaining male child.[36] According to the *Bṛhannāradīya Purāna* the leaf of the vata is the bed of Hari[37] The vaṭa is also inhabited by Brahma-rākṣasa[38] According to a Priests' Manual the aśvattha has to be worshipped every day. It expels enemies, dispels evil omens and dreams, it is identified with Janārdana. The tree destroys sin and increases prosperity.[39] A childless man who plants an aśvattha tree obtains a son.[40] The aśvattha gives wealth and the udumbara cures diseases.[41] There are elaborate ceremonies for planting an aśvattha tree with orthodox formula including *homa*. After planting the tree all the ten saṃskāras including marriage have to be performed A plantain tree adorned with cloths, gold ornaments, vermilion and lac dye is planted by the side of the aśvattha and married to it with Vedic mantras. In some case four plantain trees are planted round the tree and worshipped as his wives. Sometimes the aśvattha is married to a *tulasi* plant.[42]

Thus in the Epics and Purāṇas and in orthodox worship the special sanctity of the fig tree continues to be recognised. The aśvattha becomes

29 *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana Pv ch 126. (Bangavāsi Ed).
30 *Mbh*, Bhiṣma Pv ch 34 31 *Ibid* 32 *Ibid*
34 *Ibid.*, Anuś. Pv ch. 126 33 *Ibid.*, Śalya Pv. ch 43
35 *Ibid*, Anuśāsana Pv ch 162, *Rāmāyana* Sundarakānda chs 12. 22 etc.
36 *Kālikā Purāṇa* ch 82 (Baṅgavasi Ed).
37 *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* ch 4 (Baṅgavāsī Ed). 38 *Ibid*
39 *Kriyākāṇḍavāridhi*, vol I, p. 144. (Basumati Ed)
40 *Ibid*, vol II, p 664 41 *Ibid* 42 *Ibid*, vol II, pp 668 f.

particularly sacred to Viṣṇu while the nyāgrodha becomes particularly sacred to Mahādeva. The udumbara and aśvattha preserve their potency in connection with promotion of conception, but it is the aśvattha that is more concerned with the granting of offspring, wealth, etc. The healing properties of the fig tree are not forgotten The new attribute is that the vaṭa becomes the haunt of ghost or preta

The pipal appears in folk worship In Bengal women and young girls observe vratas in honour of it. . .One of such vratas known as *aśvattha-pātā vrata* is observed for the whole month of Vaiśākh. The devotee, generally a young, unmarried girl rises early, proceeds to a river or a tank for bath, places a new leaf of the pipal on her head and holds it there with one hand while she dips in the water. When she raises her head out of the water she takes off her hand so that the leaf on the head may be carried away by the current or wind. She has to dip her head five times in the water placing a fresh leaf each time on her head and recite mantras which are only doggrel verses The desires the fulfilment of which are sought by means of the performance of the vow or vrata are: longevity of the husband, a golden complexion, a male child wealth, happines etc. One of the most cherished desire of the devotee is that she may be the only girl among eight children, seven others being boys After returning home she must pour water at the root of the aśvattha and bow to it.[43] Another collection of these *vrata-kathās* (manuals of vratas) gives the customary story regarding the origin of this worship. A merchant proud of his wealth insults a hungry Brahmin who comes to his house and turns him out. The Brahmin cursed him and was about to depart in anger when the wife of the Brahmin fell at his feet entreating him to return. Mollified by her entreaties he returned and took food at the merchant's house. He told her that the curse uttered by him would surely ruin the merchant but if when the family would be in distress she performed a vrata according to instructions given by him the lost wealth would be regained.[44]

In Rajputana the pipal and the *bargad* are worshipped by women in Vaiśākh to protect them from widowhood. Vows are made to the pipal for male offspring. Pious women veil their faces when they pass by it. A vessel of water for the comfort of the departing soul is hung from its

43 *Vrata Kathā*, ed K P Vidyaratna, Calcutta, 1341 B S., pp. 196 f.

44 *Meyeder Vrata Kathā*, ed. Shasibhusan Kaviratna, pp. 1 f.

branches. Beneath the pipal are placed rough stones which serve as the shrine of village gods.[45] Among the Nagars of Kathiawad and other parts of Gujerat, the bride and the bridegroom are taken on the *Vaṭa-Sāvitrī* day to a banyan tree which they worship and hang on one of its branches the wedding garland made of betelnuts and cocoa kernel. When the banyan worship is over the bride is presented with a robe.[46] In the same part of the country people walk round the pipal on Saturdays when in the hope of getting rich they tear off scraps of the pipal bark. A grown up girl who cannot be married for natural defect is married to it. Leaves of the tree are used in spirit-scaring rites.[47]

The banyan is worshipped on the full-moon day by married women with the object of lengthening the lives of their husbands and children.[48] The udumbara is worshipped during the Navarātri by people wishing to make money.[49] In the eastern part of the U.P. the pipal is regarded as the abode of Vāsudeva and women bow and cover their faces as they pass by it.[50] In the north Oudh and U.P the Bhot women worship the banyan tree by walking round it and tying a thread round its trunk. They do it to lengthen the life of their husbands[51] In Bihar the pipal and the *Bar* are regarded as the favourite dwelling places of the gods, and votive offerings of flags etc. are made to them which are either hung or fastened to a bamboo pole which is stuck in the ground close to them.[52] In Mirzapore the Patans when fever prevails tie a cotton string which has never touched water round the trunk of a pipal tree and hang rags from the branches Crooke explains this custom as an illustration of transference of disease.[53] The writer has seen rag offerings being made to a banyan tree at Majgram in Pabna district in North Bengal by both Hindus and Moslems. This tree bears the curious name of *Tenā corā Vaṭagācha*, that is the vaṭa which steals rags. Another instance is known of the curious offerings of bundles of straw being made to a pair of pipal and banyan at Kumarbhog in Dacca

45 W Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 1894, p. 249.

46 *Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, 1901, vol. IX, part I, p. 47

47 *Ibid.*, p. 386. 48 *Ibid*, p. 388. 49 *Ibid*

50 W Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N W Provinces and Oudh*, II, p 10

51 *Ibid.*, p 63

52 S Mitra, 'On Plantlore from Bihar,' *JASB*, vol. XXX, no I, 1934.

53 Crooke, *Introduction* etc., pp. 105 f.

district. In both instances the object appears to be transference of disease.[54] The practice of worshipping the Akṣaya-vaṭa within the sacred enclosure of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri by barren women for offspring is well-known. The presiding deity of this tree is Ganeśa and he is known as Vaṭa-Ganeśa.[55] Thus in folk worship the pipal is worshipped for granting offspring, mainly a male child, for wealth, long life etc. It is also used as a medium for transference of evil and disease. The banyan and the udumbara are also worshipped for some of these purposes. The basis of the practice of hanging rags on the branches of the pipal and banyan is probably the memory of their old healing virtues.

In the Buddhist religion the pipal is venerated as the Bodhi-tree or the tree of wisdom under which Gotama attained his Buddha-hood and as such features prominently in Budddhist works of art. "While in all the oldest accounts of Gotama's attainment of Buddha-hood there is no mention of the tree under which he was sitting at the time, yet already in a suttanta it is incidentally mentioned that this event took place under a pipal tree, and this is often referred to in later books. In the old sculptures the Buddha himself is never represented directly, but always under a symbol." Rhys-Davids explains that such representation of the pipal in the old sculptures is not to be taken as an evidence of tree worship, veneration is paid to it because it is a symbol of the Master or because of its association with him at a turning point in his career. But he proceeds, "Another hypothesis is possible,—that the disciples in all good faith, associated their Master with this particular tree because it already, before him, had been specially sacred above all other trees. .. The tree was certainly held in high esteem even as early as the Vedic poems. Vessels for the mystic Soma cult were made of its wood; and so were the caskets containing the medicinal herbs used in mystic craft of the physician of the day. The upper portion of the fire-drill—and the production of fire was held to be a mystery—was of the wood of the pipal tree. And in one passage the tree in heaven under which the souls of the blessed recline is likened to pippala. Whether this would be sufficient reason for the rise of the tradition may be doubtful. But such association would add to its hold on popular imagination, if it had once

54 N. M. Chaudhuri, 'A Curious Cult in North Bengal,' *Indian Culture*, vol. II, No. 3.

55 L S S. O'Malley, *Puri District Gazetteer*, 1906, p. 11.

otherwise arisen."[56] In one Bharut sculpture the Bodhi-tree is represented as springing from an altar enclosed by a railing and elephants paying homage. In another sculpture the tree is represented as springing from an altar with garlands hanging from its branches and devotees paying homage, one in the act of hanging a garland.[57] But as has been pointed out by Rhys-Davids the pipal as the Bodhi-tree or the tree of wisdom is not the tree of knowledge of folklore. "The wisdom was the wisdom of the Master, not of the tree or the tree-god, and could not be obtained by eating of its fruit."[58] Nevertheless, it must be admitted that when in later times the pipal became, as in the Bharut stūpa representations referred to above, a symbol of the Master and worship was offered to it, and garlands were hung from its branches, the reverence shown to it was not distinguishable from the reverence shown to the pipal as the abode of Viṣṇu by Hindus. Fit to be venerated from its sacred association the tree itself became an object of veneration The Buddhist literature gives many legends about the sacred Bodhi-tree which do not concern us here. Hiuen Tsang mentions a great Pipal tree of Peshwar near which Kaniska built a great stūpa. "This tree seems to have existed and been reverenced down to the time of Baber."[59]

The special regard paid to the sacred fig tree in Buddhist legends and sculptures would also appear to be common to Jainism. Some of the carvings in the famous rock caves in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills in Orissa in which Jaina influence is well-marked testify to the popularity of the cult of pipal in Eastern India. The Jayavijaya cave contains carvings in the second compartment showing in the centre within a railing a holy pipal tree being worshipped by two males and two females, each of the latter holds a plate of offerings; the left male has folded hands and the right male is tying a garland or strips of cloth to a branch.[60] It has been noted above that this peculiar mode of offering still prevails very widely in popular worship in different parts of this country and elsewhere. Again, the fourth tympanum in the Ananta cave shows a pipal tree within a square railing

56 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp 230 f.

57 Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharut*, Pl XXX: Rhys Davids *op cit*, p 228 Fig. 43, p. 229, Fig. 44

58 Rhys Davids, *op cit*, p 230.

59 J. Fergusson *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1868, p 44

60 L. S S. O'Malley, *Puri District Gazetteer*, 1906, p. 257.

worshipped by a male with attendants; a woman is holding up a garland to be placed on a branch of the sacred tree and is followed by a female carrying a jar and a plate of offerings.[61]

One aspect of tree worship which features prominently in Buddhist legends and sculptures should be mentioned because it refers to the Fig. Referring to the traces of pre-Buddhistic popular beliefs in the *Jātakas* Rhys Davids writes that this folklore never attributed divine power to the pipal tree. "It happens always to be some other tree .. The tree deities were called Nāgas and were able at will, like the Nāgas, to assume human form; and in one story (Jātaka no. 493) the spirit of a banyan tree who reduced the merchants to ashes is called a Nāga-rāja, the soldiers he sends forth from . his tree are Nāgas and the tree itself is "the dwelling place of the Nāga."[62] It has been seen above that the pipal and banyan were the abodes of the Gandharvas, Apsarasas, Yaksas and next of the pretas; the Buddhist legends add the Nāgas to the list. In folk religion of the present day the Nāgas or serpents have a special tree, the Sij (euphorbia). and the Fig tree does not appear to have any thing to do with them.

Thus though the worship of the pipal is popular among the Buddhists their literature and sculptures do not indicate that except the sacred association with the Master the tree had any other idea behind it.

From the foregoing it is possible to distinguish two aspects in the regard paid to the fig tree from the Vedic times down to the present day, e.g , reverence paid to the tree itself and reverence paid to it as an abode or symbol of deity. When the tree itself is worshipped the object is to secure the help of the magical potency of the tree, its branches drive away enemies, its leaves produce intelligence in the child and banish evil spirits, fulfil desires for wealth, male offspring its bark gives wealth. As an abode the tree serves Gods, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, Yakṣasas, Nāgas and lastly pretas or ghosts[63] They have to be propitiated for granting desires or for averting their displeasure These spirits are sometimes embodied in the tree, sometimes they are represented in anthropomorphic forms independently but in close contact with the tree. Such representations abound in Buddhist art. It has been seen that the pipal appears represented both

61 L S S. O'Malley, *op cit*, p. 263 62 Rhys Davids, *op cit*, p 232.

63 In Macedonia at this day the country folk avoid the plane, the poplar and the fig, for these are the favourite haunts of fairies *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol XII, p. 452

independently and in close contact with the in-dwelling spirit in anthropomorphic form among pre-historic finds at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. It may be said therefore that the popular cult of the Fig tree is of pre-historic origin and the unbroken continuity of the cult which it is possible to trace, shows the very remarkable vitality of the cult.

Now, did the representatives of the chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus Valley develop the cult amongst themselves or borrow it? Dr. Hutton has made a suggestion regarding the origin of the cult which, if it is accepted, would explain to some extent the amazing vitality of the cult. According to him the sanctity of the Fig tree is a contribution of the Negrito substratum of the Indian population. The cult appears among the Andamanese who are approximately a pure Negrito race, because physically and culturally they have been isolated for some five thousand years at least.[64] The cult of the Fig tree is intimately associated with two other cults e.g. (1) fertility cult, and (2) cult of the spirits of the dead. It has been associated with fertility cults and the cult of the dead in South Europe, Africa and Oceania.[65] Hutton explains that "it is probably on account of its milk like sap that the ficus is associated with fertility cults in Africa, Italy, New Guinea as well as in Assam and Southern India."[66] How the cult of the fig could have come to be associated with the cult of the dead is not clearly explained, but it appears that Hutton would attribute the association to the life-essence theory (of Austro-Asiatic and Mediterranean origin) which, according to him, combines fertility and soul-matter cults.[67]

The belief in the sanctity of the fig tree is then, according to him, a contribution of the earliest population of India which was also the earliest population of South-eastern Asia, this is proved by the existence of the cult among the Andamanese and by the traces of its existence among peoples whose kinship with the Negritos is established e.g., in the Malay Peninsula, Indian Archipelago etc.[68] Whether the fig was associated with fertility cults and ancestor-worship in the early stage is not known, but later this association was established in India and other countries. The original cult must have undergone changes at the hands of races which followed though it cannot be said what new elements were added to it by them.

64 J H. Hutton, *Census of India*, 1931, part I, p. 397.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 443. 66 *Ibid*, p. 397. 67 *Ibid*, pp. 393, 417

68 According to Wake the regard for the pipal extends through Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Sumatra, Java etc . Wake, *Serpent Worship*, p. 118.

At the stage it is found in the Indus Valley it had reached a high stage of development, as the works of art which have been unearthed reveal. For this development the Mediterraneans from the Persian Gulf (ultimately from E. Europe) together with brachycephals of the Armenoid branch of the Alpines, the authors of the Indus civilisation, according to Hutton, are responsible.[69] The cult survived the cataclysmic changes following the irruption of the Alpines from Iran and the Pamirs, according to Hutton,[70] which swept away the prosperous civilisation of the Indus Valley and was adopted by the Vedic Aryans. It is important to observe what treatment was accorded to this indigenous cult by the new-comers. The cult was not merely tolerated as a belief of the conquered peoples, but it was also adopted in the official religion. The sacredness of the pipal is only incipient in the *Ṛgveda* as has been observed by Macdonell[71] but in the *Atharva Veda*, as we have seen, in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras* the pipal, udumbara and nyāgrodha occupy important place In the *Atharva Veda* the worship of the fig is dominated by magico-religious ideas and it is possible that these ideas are a survival of the chalcolithic worship. This need not be regarded wholly as a speculation, because we have seen that in the *Atharva Veda* the pipal is a giver of a male child, the udumbara gives increase in children, cattle etc. and the pipal is also associated with the spirit of the dead; these ideas are associated with it in the Purānas and in more elaborate forms in folk-worship; and lastly Hutton has shown that the fig associated with fertility cults in Africa, S. Europe[72] etc., and generally connected also with the spirit of the dead,"[73] was regarded as sacred by the earliest population of the whole of S.E. Asia If it is undeniable that the pre-historic civilisers of the Indus Valley found the cult pre-existing them in the land it is quite possible that they also found, as the basis of the cult many of the old ideas associated with the tree and probably developed them, this view appears to be confirmed by the subsequent history of the cult.

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69 Hutton, *op cit.*, p 460. 70 *Ibid*

71 Macdonell, *Sanskrit Litera*[illegible], p. 146

72 (1). Around the Medite[illegible] antiquity the fig [illegible] a favou[illegible] emblem of fecundity and artificial phalli [illegible]often formed of the fig tree wood.—*ERE*, vol. IX, p 819

(2). The fig tree features prominently [illegible] the Aegean art.—*ERE.*, XII, p 452

73 Hutton, *op cit*, p. 397.

Certain Sanskrit Scholars of Medieval Bengal bearing the name "Rāmabhadra"

The name Rāmabhadra appears to have been very popular in the period immediately following the golden epoch of the intellectual history of Bengal when scholars like Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi and others were revolutionising the various branches of learning, viz., Smṛti, Nyāya, etc. As a matter of fact we meet with three scholars bearing the name Rāmabhadra with the distinguishing epithets Nyāyālaṃkāra, Sārvabhauma and Siddhānta-Vāgīśa, and many works on Smṛti, Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, Vyākaraṇa, Tantra, and Kāvya are associated with the names of one or other of them. Some works again are ascribed simply to "Rāmabhadra" without any epithet whatsoever. It is for us to examine which books were actually written by which of these scholars. Besides this we propose, in this paper, to identify these authors, to determine their approximate dates, and also to give a very brief account of the works composed by them. Most of the MSS. being not available at hand we have necessarily to depend on the *Notices* and *Catalogues* of MSS. for certain details of the works, such as the date of copying, description of contents, number of their pages etc.

1. *Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya*

A. Literary Works

(i) *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha*, variously called *Smṛti-tattva-vinirnaya*, *Smṛti-saṃgraha*, *Vyavasthā-Vivecana*, *Vyavasthā-saṃkṣepa*, or, *Vyavasthārṇava*.[1]

(ii) *Dāya-bhāga-vivṛti* (*dīpikā*, *-ṭīkā*)[2]

(iii) *Vidvan-modinī*.[3]

(iv) *Śuddhi-tattva-kārikā* or simply *Śuddhi-kārikā* (?)[4]

1 Dacca University MS. No. 661A, *India Office Catalogue*, III. p 485, No 1567 (640), 1568 (743), 1569 (638a), P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 669. H. P. Sastri, *Notices* (Second Series), I, p. 413 (No 415).

2 Ed. Bharat Siromaṇi, R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, VI. No 2106

3 R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, VII, p 257 (No. 2505).

4 H. P. Sastri, *Notices*, II. (Second Series), p. 197 (219), p 196 (No 218), *Des. Cat of Sans. MSS. in Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. III, Nos. 5136, 10819, 116,

The Smrti-tattva-samgraha

The *Smrti-tattva-samgraha* of the Dacca University collections seems to be the same as the *Smrti-samgraha* of the India Office with slight modifications. Besides a close resemblance in the names of the two works we find certain lines common to both. For instance, the line एतच कन्यानुमती वाग्दत्ताया अपि कन्याकुमारीवद् विवाहः occurs in both these works. Again the I.O. MS. reads अथ उद्वाहनिर्णयः। तत्र सापिण्ड्यं निरूप्यते। whereas the D.U. MS. reads अथोद्वाहसंक्षेपः। तत्र...निरूप्यते। The line प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्था। तत्रादौ प्रायश्चित्तलक्षणम् etc. occurs in both the MSS. Both quote certain verses from the *Sanatkumāra-samhitā* at the end of the Śuddhi-vyavasthā. The topics dealt with by both the works are the same with one or two variations. For these reasons these two seem to be different versions of the same work although their beginnings and colophons are different. The MS. entitled *Smrti-tattva vinirnaya*, noticed by H. P. Sastri, has no colophon but its introductory verses ascribe the work to "Rāmabhadra." The Dacca University MS. referred to above has no introductory verse at all, *nor* does it have the same ending as the other one Yet the two books should not be considered different from each other. The line प्रायः सङ्कल्पानामेव कर्मणामारम्भकत्वात् आदौ स एव निरूप्यते which follows the introductory verse in Sastri's MS. occurs in folio 47b of the Dacca University MS., and Sastri's description of the contents of the former corresponds with that of the latter. The omission of the introductory verse in the D.U. MS. might have been accidental or its occurrence in the other one might have been due to interpolation by later writers or copyists. From the above discussion it seems that the very same Smrti work of Rāmabhadra passed by different names and in different versions. The copyists perhaps altered the arrangement of the topics of the original work according to their own convenience.

With regard to the *Vyavasthārnava*, preserved in the India Office, it is not clear why the I.O. Catalogue calls it a part of the *Smrti-samgraha* while the colophon ascribes it to one Rāghava Bhatta.

The *Smrti-tattva-samgraha*, covering over a hundred pages, is a digest containing the usual Smrti topics dealt with by Raghunandana in his twenty-eight Tattvas. The topics are, to mention only the most important ones, Śuddhi (purification), Śrāddha (Offering oblations to the Manes), Prāyaścitta

3357, 5009 (Serial Nos. 2100, 2101, 2291-93), R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, Vol. II. p. 313 (No. 920).

(penances), Tithi (particular days suitable to particular religious observances), Udvāha (marriage), Mala-māsa (intercalary month), etc. In this book the views of the Bengal school have been set forth in contrast with those of the Mithilā school, and authorities, both older and contemporary, have been freely quoted and attempted to be reconciled. The author occasionally gives his own independent remarks. The book is written in a simple language, and the writer seldom or never indulges in those recondite discussions of purely academic value with which the average reader of Raghunandana is familiar with.

Besides the traditional writers of Dharmaśāstra like Manu and Yājñavalkya, etc., the author cites a host of comparatively recent writers of whom the following deserve special mention: —

Vācaspati Miśra, Smārta (i.e. Raghunandana), Pakṣadhara Miśra, Haridāsa Tarkācārya, Kullūka, Aniruddha, Jikana Halāyudha, Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa, Nārāyaṇa-upādhyāya, Śiromaṇi Bhaṭṭācārya (i.e. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭācārya), Govindānanda, Śomamiśra, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, Dhanañjaya, and so on. To the contemporary writers he usually refers by the terms Navyāḥ, Navīnāḥ, Ādhunikāḥ, etc.

Of the numerous works cited in this book the following are important: —

Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru, Yājñavalkya-ṭīkā of Devavodha, *Saṭ-triṃśan-mata, Hāra-latā, Sugati-sopāna, Gangā-māhātmya, Kapila-pāñca-rātra, Bhagavad-gītā, Śrāddha-viveka, Śrāddha-tattva, Mala-māsa-tattva*, etc.

Among the Purānas are mentioned the *Ādi, Brahma, Kūrma, Bhaviṣya, Kālikā*, and the *Matsya*.

The Dāya-bhāga-ṭīkā

This seems to have been the real name of the work as it is so called in the colophon. The word "Vivṛti" or exposition occurring in the introductory verse refers to the nature of the work. It is a commentary on the *Dāya-bhāga* of *Jīmūtavāhana*.

The Vidvan-modinī

It is a commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśam* of Kālidāsa up to the twelfth canto.

The Śuddhi-tattva-kārikā

It is of doubtful authorship being diversely attributed to Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra, Nārāyaṇa Vandyopādhyāya, Harinārāyaṇa, etc. It is curious

that all the MSS., though attributed to different authors, appear from the description of their contents to be copies of the same work. Going by the majority one should suppose that the work was composed by Nārāyaṇa and that the names of other writers were later associated with it by scribes through oversight or for some other reason. Out of the seven MSS., so far known, as many as three are attributed to Nārāyaṇa and two to Harinārāyaṇa. Of the remaining two one is ascribed to Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra and the other has no name of the author. It may be noted that the last-mentioned MS., which is surmised to be Ramabhadra in the *Asiatic Society Catalogue*, has a beginning different from the rest though its introductory verse is the same, hence it seems to be a different work. But to add to our confusion we find that MS. No. 219 of Sastri's *Notices*, Vol. II, (2nd Series) which is clearly attributed to Rāmabhadra, appears to be similar to the rest and unlike the one supposed to be of Rāmabhadra in the *Asiatic Society Catalogue*. It is perhaps significant that the date of copying the MS., clearly assigned to Rāmabhadra, is Śaka 1714, while the other dated MSS. of the work range from Śaka 1767-1774 Nārāyana, who is believed to have lived in the early part of the eighteenth century,[5] is definitely later than Rāmabhaddra Nyāyālamkāra, son of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi Therefore the MS. bearing the earlier date may have been a work of Rāmabhadra. But the close resemblance in the description of the contents of the different MSS. stands in the way of our coming to any definite conclusion on this point. The name Harinārāyaṇa, however, found only in two of the MSS. which are almost synchronous with others, may perhaps be regarded as a mistake for Nārāyana.

B. Personal history

According to the *India Office Catalogue* a MS. of the *Smṛti-saṃgraha* describes the author Rāmabhadra as Navadvīpa-nivāsin or a resident of Navadvīpa in Bengal, and adds to his name the epithets Mahāmahopādhyāya, Nyāyālaṃkāra and Bhaṭṭācārya. The colophon to the Dacca University MS. of the *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha*, however, adds only Bhaṭṭācārya to the name Rāmabhadra who seems to be the same man as Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya. It is quite possible that out of

5 See H. P. Sastri—*Notices of Sans MSS* Vol. I (Second Series)—Preface, p. XIV.

the three long titles the Dacca University MS. retained only one to the exclusion of others which might have been too well-known to need any repetition in the MS.

Besides giving the above epithets of Rāmabhadra the colophon to the *Dāyabhāga-ṭīkā* describes the author as Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇitanuja, i.e., the son of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi. The epithet Nyāyālaṃkāra is also found in the doubtful *Śuddhi-kārikā* and all the epithets in the *Vidvan-modinī*. From the above we may conclude that Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya was a son of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi of Navadvīpa, the celebrated teacher of the renowned Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, and author of many treatises on Smṛti having the usual endings "arṇava," "dīpikā," "candrikā" and "viveka." That this Rāmabhadra had at least six sons, two of whom were named Rāmeśvara and Raghumaṇi, is proved by the introductory verses of the MSS. of the *Tantra-pramoda*[6] and the *Āgama-sāra*[7] respectively. From these verses we can gather that Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya was an erudite scholar of great repute living on the banks of the Ganges (*Jahnu-kanyā-pratīra*) and that many Brahmins thronged to him and also that he was very charitably disposed (*dānair-dainya-daraugha-dārana-patuh*) making large gifts to the poor. Rāmeśvara and Raghumani describe themselves as the second and the sixth son respectively of Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra.

C. His date

As has been pointed out above this Rāmabhadra was son of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi. Śrīnātha is believed to have lived sometime between 1490 & 1525 A.D.[8] This is, of course, the upper limit of Rāmabhadra's date. Of the authors and commentators on Navya-smṛti and Navya-nyāya this Rāmabhadra mentions, *inter alia*, the names of Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya (or simply Smārta),[9] Śiromaṇi Bhaṭṭācārya[10] and Govindānanda.[11] The date of Raghunandana, popularly known as Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya, ranges between 1490 & 1570 A.D.[12] Śiromani Bhaṭṭācārya, whose real name was Raghunātha, was a famous logician of Bengal, and is believed to have lived in the first

6 Vide Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. I p. 139 (No 260).
7 *Ibid*, p. 141 (No. 266) 8 M Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1915, p 351
9 D.U. MS. of *Smṛti-tattva-saṁgraha*, *op cit*, Fol. 16, 36, 1196, etc.
10 *Ibid*., Fol. 114a. 11 *Ibid*., Fol. 118b.
12 Kane, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p 419.

quarter of the 16th century A.D.[13] Govindānanda's literary activity is generally placed between 1500 & 1540 A.D.[14] Thus we may approximately place this Rāmabhadra between the second quarter of the 16th century and the first decade of the 17th.

2. *Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya*

A. Literary Works

Nyāya-vaiśesika

(i) *Padārtha-khandana-ṭippani*, variously called *Padārtha-viveka-prakāśa*, *Padārtha-tattva-vivecana-prakāśa* or *Padārtha-khandana-ṭīkā*[15]

(ii) *Nyāya-kusumāñjali-vyākhyā* (or, *-kārikā-vyākhyā*)[16]

(iii) *Guna-rahasya*[17]

(iv) *Nyāya-rahasya*[18]

(v) *Dīdhiti-ṭīkā*[19]

Tantra

(vi) *Ṣaṭ-cakra-dīpikā* (or, *-vivarana*), variously called *Ṣat cakra-krama-dīpikā* or simply *Cakra-dīpikā*[20]

Grammar

(vii) *Samāsa-vāda*[21]

The Padārtha-khandana-ṭīkā

Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's work, on which the present book is a commentary, "is known under four different names, viz., *Padārtha-khaṇḍana*, *Padārtha-tattva*, *Padārtha-tattva-vivecana*, and *Padārtha-nirūpaṇa*"[22] and the commentary is indicated by adding the terms "ṭīkā," "ṭippanī," and "prakāśa" to any of these names at option. The name *Pādārtha-khaṇḍana* appears to be the name originally assigned to his work by Raghunātha "as

13 *A Hist of Ind Logic*, S C Vidyabhusana, p 463
14 *Hist of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, *op cit*, p 415
15 D.U MS No. 2638, *Calcutta Sans College Cat*, III p 241 (No 399) and p. 268 (N.o 465), Mitra's *Notices*, III No 1132
16 *Cal Sans Coll Cat*, III. No 318, Mitra's *Notices*, II No. 525
17 D.U MS. No 364.
18 *JASB.*, 1915, p. 280 and *Hist of Ind Logic*, *op cit*, p 469
19 *Ibid.*,
20 D.U MS. No 1884 and Sastri's *Notices*, I. (Second Series), p. 386 (No 383)
21 Mitra's *Notices*, VII p 124 (No 2252) and *Cal Sans Coll Cat*, Vol VIII p. 146 (No. 190).
22 Mitra's *Notices*, III. p. 85 under No. 1132.

Raghudeva Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya styles his commentary on the work, *Padārtha-khaṇḍana-vyākhyā*, and it has no aliases."[23]

A commentary on the *Padārtha-khaṇḍana* it treats of such topics as दिक्कालयोरीश्वरातिरिक्तत्वखण्डनम्, मनसः खण्डनम् etc.

The Nyāya-kusumāñjali-vyākhyā

It is a commentary on Udayana's *Kusumāñjali*, "in which he mentions the *Prakāśa* (of Vardhamāna) and the *Makaranda* (of Rucidatta), written according to his father's interpretations."[24]

The Guṇa-rahasya

According to M. Chakravarti it is a commentary on the *Guṇa-kiraṇāvali* of Udayanācārya. Some, however, consider it to be an independent work written on the lines of *Vaiśeṣika-darśana-bhāṣya*, etc. of Praśastapadācārya.

The Nyāya-rahasya

-"a commentary on Gotama's *Nyāya-sūtra* itself, quoted in Jagadīsa Tarkālamkāra's *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā*."[25]

The Dīdhiti-ṭīkā

-"a sub-commentary of Raghunātha's commentary, of which fragments only have been found, viz., *Vāyu-vāda*, (Anumāna), *Nañ-vāda*, and *Samāsa-vāda* (Śabda)."[26]

The Ṣaṭ-cakra-dīpikā

This seems to have been the real name of the work as it is so called in the colophon to the MS. No. 383 of Sastri's *Notices*, Vol. I (Second Series). The introductory verse, however, calls it *Cakra-dīpikā* the word "Ṣaṭ" being omitted probably for metrical necessity. Both the Dacca University MS. and the one just referred to begin as "Atha Ṣaṭ-cakra-vivaranam" after the introductory verse. Hence the word "Ṣaṭ-cakra-vivaraṇa" should perhaps be regarded as a reference to the topic to be dealt with and not as a name of the work.

23 Mitra's *Notices*, III, p 85 under No 1132.
24 M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1915, *op cit*, p. 280. 25 *Ibid*, 26 *Ibid*.

The work deals with such matters as **सृष्टिक्रम, देहोत्पत्ति, चतुर्विंशतितत्त्व, गूढतत्त्व, देह, षट्चक्र,** परमात्मसाक्षात्कार, and **प्रसव**, etc.

The Samāsa-vāda

According to M. Chakravarti this is a part of the *Dīdhiti-ṭīkā* of the same author, but the introductory verses of and the colophons to the extant MSS of the *Samāsa-vāda* do not substantiate this view. Had it been so, in the introductory verse of the work or in its colophon we would expect at least a mention of the larger treatise of which it is supposed to be a part. 'Furthermore, it is not the usual practice among writers to begin each chapter of a work with a separate introductory verse.

B. Personal history

In the colophons to his works this Rāmabhadra is often styled Mahāmahopādhyāya and Sārvabhauma. The introducrory verses of some of his works seem to throw some light, though not very clear, on the personal history of the author These verses are as follows: —

1. सपत्नीकं **गुरु** नत्वा तथैव कुलदेवताम् । रामभद्रसार्वभौमः कुरुते चक्रदीपिकाम् ॥
(*Saṭ-cakra-dīpikā*)

2. वंशीमधुरनिनादैर्मोहितगोपाङ्गनाचित्तः । गायद्गोपशिशूनां मध्ये नृत्यन् हरिर्जयति ॥
चूडामणि......गुणरहस्यकम् । रामभद्रसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्यैर्विधीयते ॥
(*Guṇa-rahasya*, D.U. MS. No. 364)

3. **तातस्य** तर्कसरसीरुहकाननेषु **चूडामणे**र्दिनमणेश्चरणौ प्रणम्य ।
श्रीरामभद्रसुकृती कृतिनां हिताय लीलावशात किमपि कौतुकमातनोति ॥
(*Padārtha-khaṇḍana-ṭīkā*)

4 **भवानीभवनाथाभ्यां** पितृभ्यां प्रणमाम्यहम्
यत्प्रसादादिदं शास्त्रं कदलीरोपमं कृतम् ॥
• मकरन्दप्रकाशे या व्याख्या मलिमलेऽथवा ।
ततोऽधिकां पितुर्व्याख्यामाख्यातुमयमुद्यमः ॥
[Intro-verses 2 and 3 of *Kusumāñjali-vyākhyā*, *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat*, Vol. III. p 200, No. 318]

The first of the above verses does not help us materially as it does not mention the name of the Guru. The mention of Cūdāmaṇi in the second verse is significant, but the portion immediately following the word being completely effaced we are not in a position to ascertain whether Cūdāmani has been mentioned as a teacher of the author or simply as a Pūrvācārya. Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi was well-known as a teacher of Nyāya and it is

very likely that he has been referred to as his Guru by Rāmabhadra in this work on Nyāya. Otherwise the mention of Cūḍāmaṇi here cannot be explained satisfactorily.

The third verse, however, is highly significant. It appears to admit of two interpretations:—

(1) तर्कसरसीरुहकाननेषु (in the forests of lotuses in the shape of Dialectics) दिनमणेः (इव) तातस्य चूडामणेः (of the father Cūḍāmaṇi who is the sun, as it were) चरणौ प्रणम्य (having saluted the feet), etc.

(2) तातस्य तर्कसरसीरुहकाननेषु (in the forests of lotuses in the shape of Dialectics emanating from the father) दिनमणेः (इव) चूडामणेः चरणौ प्रणम्य

Cūḍāmaṇi obviously refers to Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, the celebrated teacher of Raghunandana, the famous Smṛti writer of Bengal. The author seems to pay homage to Cūḍāmaṇi who enlightened him in the obscure Tarkaśāstra in which his father was an adept. Just as lotuses bloom at the rise of the sun, the dispeller of darkness, so also the mind of the author was enlightened by Cūḍāmaṇi with respect to the abstruse science of Dialectics All difficulty lies in the word "tāta" (father). Is it to be construed with तर्कसरसीरुहकाननेषु, or supposed to be in apposition with Cūḍāmaṇi? The latter meaning is untenable because Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra being definitely known to be a son of Śrīnātha it is not at all possible that another of his brothers bore the same name with only a different epithet. The former meaning seems appropriate because it is in the fitness of things that the author should make a reference to his father whose work, the *Padārtha-khaṇḍana*, he was commenting upon It may, therefore, be deduced that the present Rāmabhadra was a son of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi and a pupil of Śrīnātha. Śiromaṇi and Cūḍāmaṇi having been contemporaneous there can be no possible objection to this conjecture. This view is also shared by Hall, of whose supposition, however, M. Chakravarti finds "no proof."[27]

From the fourth verse M. Chakravarti concludes that the author was a son of Bhavanātha and Bhavānī. This conjecture is, however, open to criticism. In the last line of the verse the author admittedly praises "his father's teachings as better than those in the *Prakāśa* and *Makaranda*."[28] This clearly implies that the father of the author was a logician of deep erudition. But the name Bhavanātha is nowhere to be met with in the whole range of the Nyāya literature. In none of the numerous MSS. of

27 *JASB.*, 1915, *op. cit.*, p. 280   28 *Ibid.*, p. 281.

this Rāmabhadra's works except this do we find Bhavanātha and Bhavānī mentioned as parents of the author. Moreover, it is curious and a matter of very rare occurence that the name of the wife should have almost the precise feminine form of the husband's name. The fact seems to be that by these words the writer refers to Śiva with his consort, whom he salutes at the beginning of his work. A similar instance of saluting these particular deities together may be found in the words Pārvatī-parameśvarau in the first verse of the *Raghuvamśim* of Kālidāsa.

C. His date

As pointed out above the date of Śrīnātha is believed to fall between 1490 & 1525 A D. If Śrīnātha was the teacher of the author then the above date becomes the upper limit of the latter's time. The earliest known MS. of Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma was copied in Saṃvat 1670 or 1613 A.D. which date, therefore supplies the lower limit of his date. Jagadīśa Tarkā-Laṃkāra, a well-known logician of Bengal, mentions Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma as his Guru[29] or preceptor and associates the *Nyāya-rahasya* with his name. Jagadīśa's date, according to M. Chakravarti,[30] falls roughly between 1590 & 1625 A.D. Therefore this Rāmabhadra must have flourished earlier Jayarāma Nyāya-pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya, another Bengali logician of repute mentions "Rāmabhadra" in the introductory verses of one of his books.[31] But Jayarāma here gives none of the epithets of Rāmabhadra nor does he expressly mention him as his Guru. It is not clear how from mere mention of the name M Chakravarti concludes that Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma was the preceptor of Jayarāma. The practice of saluting a Pūrvācārya in the introductory verses of a work is not unknown among the old Sanskrit scholars but that does not necessarily prove that the person so adored was the preceptor of the writer. If Jayarāmå refers to this Rāmabhadra then the latter must be assigned to a date anterior to 1600-1625 A.D., the approximate date of Jayarāma.[32]

29 Cp श्रीसार्वभौमस्य गुरोः...... Vide *JASB*, 1915, *op cit*, p. 282 (footnote) इति पुनर्न्यायरहस्ये अस्मद्गुरुचरणाः—*Ibid.*

30 *JASB.*, 1915, *op cit*, p 282.

31 Cp. मूर्ध्न्याधाय च रामभद्रचरणद्वन्द्वारविन्दद्वयम्—*JASB.*, 1915, *op cit*, p. 282.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

3. *Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya*

A. Literary Works

Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā-ṭīkā(-subodhinī or, ***-prabodhinī)***.[33]

This is the only work of the author known till now. It is a commentary on the *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā* of Jagadīśa.

B. Personal history

In the colophons to the MSS. of his works the author is often styled Navadvīpīya, Siddhāntavāgīśa, Mahāmahopādhyāya and Bhaṭṭācārya. S. C. Vidyabhusana[34] describes this author as a grandson of Jagadīśa Tarkālaṃkāra. But in fact he seems to have been a pupil of Jagadīśa, because in the introductory verse of the above book he salutes his Guru who is mentioned to be the author of the work he commented upon,[35] and Jagadīśa is well-known as the author of the *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā* Had Jagadīśa been both the grand-father and the Guru of the author it would seem unnatural that Rāmabhadra should have referred to him only as Guru and not at all to his personal relationship.

C. His date

Jagadīśa, whether the grand-father or the Guru of Rāmabhadra, was certainly the author of the work on which the latter wrote his commentary. Now as Jagadīśa is believed to have lived some time between the last decade of the 16th century and the first quarter of the 17th, Siddhāntavāgīśa may be placed roughly in the second quarter of the 17th century.

Works attributed to "Rāmabhadra" without any distinguishing epithet

1 *KU SU PĀ*[36]
2 *Śleṣa-virodhinī*[37]
3 *Dāya-bhāga-siddhānta-kumuda-candrikā*.[38]

33 *Cal Skt College Cat*, III p 265 (No 460) p 326 (No 580) Mitra's *Notices*, I p 104 (No 194), *Sastri's Notices*, X p 109 (No 3367).

34 *A Hist of Ind. Logic, op cit*, p 480

35 C.p गिरिमिव गुरुमिह नत्वा तत्कृतशब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिकासु etc.

36 D.U. MS. No 4248.

37 *Sastri's Notices*, X p 70 (No 3313).

38 *Mitra's Notices*, VI. p. 142 (No 2079).

The KU SU PĀ

In the Dacca University Collections we find a very small MS. which has neither any introductory verse nor any colophon. The name of the work and its authorship are hinted at by the words *"Rāmabhadrī KU SU PĀ"* noted on the righthand margin of three pages of the MS. Some folia, however, contain on the margin the words *"Hari KU SU PĀ"* instead of those mentioned above *KU SU PĀ* may be an abbreviation for *Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā*, the term "pātrā" being commonly used by the Pandits to mean handbooks which are, so to say, abridged editions of larger treatises prepared for ready reference. It may be that this *Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā* of Rāmabhadra was an abridged version of the *Kusumā-ñjali-vyākhyā* of the same author. The work deals with only a portion of the *Kusumā-ñjali* of Udayana.

The word "Hari" in *"Hari KU SU PĀ"*, though not very clear in a work of Rāmabhadra, may refer to the reputed logician Haridāsa Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya By *Hari KU SU PĀ* the author may mean the *Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā* written on the lines of Haridāsa, author of the noted *Kusumā-ñjali-vyākhyā*. Haridāsa's date falls roughly towards the end of the 15th century A.D. and he is, therefore, much earlier than Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma. *Hari KU SU PĀ* may as well mean the *Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā* of Haridāsa Possibly the "pātrās" both of Haridāsa and of Rāmabhadra were mixed up.

The Śleṣa virodhinī

It is a commentary on the *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya* of Kavirāja

This work presents a good deal of difficulty with regard to the identification of its author. The introductory verse ascribes the work to "Rāmabhadra" without any of the usual epithets. The author salutes one Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya[39] without mentioning the latter's relationship with himself. In no other works of the above three Rāmabhadras known till now, do we find the author making an honourable mention of Tarkavāgīśa in the introductory verses. From the respectful mention of his name at the commencement of the work it seems that Tarkavāgīśa was either the teacher or the father of the author. Now who this Tarkavāgīśa possibly was? In the history of Bengal Logic we find the names of two eminent scholars

39 Cp. नत्वा श्रीमत्तर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्यपादकम् etc.

with the common epithet Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya. They are Kaṇāda and Mathurānātha. Tradition, preserved among the present-day Paṇḍits of Bengal, generally refers by this short title of Tarkavāgīśa to Mathurānātha, the author of the *Māthurī*, the well-known commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya. From the introductory verses mentioned above we learn that the author wrote such commentaries as *Kumāra-stava-vyākhyā* and *Kumāra-kaumudī*, etc.

It may be that this Rāmabhadra, a commentator on various Kāvya works, is the same person as the author of the *Vidvan-modinī*. Both the names of the *Vidvan-modinī* and of the *Śleṣa-virodhinī*, by the likeness of their forms, seem to have been chosen by one man. Rāmabhadra, son of Śrīnātha, is the author of the *Vidvan-modinī*, and none of the other two Rāmabhadras is known to have had Kāvya as one of the subjects of his study. As aforesaid, from the *Śleṣa-virodhinī* itself we learn that the author was a commentator on various poetical works. Hence it will perhaps not be without any substantial ground to attribute both these commentaries to Śrīnātha's son named Rāmabhadra. It may be that the *Vidvan-modinī*, which was perhaps written later than the *Śleṣa-virodhinī*, was not included in the list of the author's commentaries appended to the latter. Or, the omission might have been purely accidental From the point of view of dates there is no absurdity in Śrīnātha's son having been a pupil of either Kaṇāda or of Mathurānātha, both of them flourishing after Śrīnātha, or, at least, having been his earlier and later contemporaries respectively. Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṁkāra being silent about the name of his Guru in his other works there is no difficulty in supposing Tarkavāgīśa to have been his teacher from the respectful mention of the latter's name in the *Śleṣa-virodhinī*.

Th Dāya-bhāga-siddhānta-kumuda-candrikā

In the colophon to a MS. of this work it is ascribed to one Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra. But as no other distinguishing epithet is added to the name of the author and because from the dsecription of its contents the work appears to be different from the *Dāya bhāga-ṭīkā* of Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra we are not in a position to identify the authoi M. Chakravarti, however, holds it to be a work of Acyutānanda Cakravartī but wrongly assigned to Rāmabhadra in the MS. referred to above.[40]

40 *JASB.*, 1915, *op. cit*, p 345 and 362.

The results of our above discussions may briefly be stated as follows: —

I. Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya. (*Circa* 1550-1610).
Author of

(i) *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha*
(ii) *Dāya-bhāga-ṭīkā*
(iii) *Vidvan-modinī*
(iv) *Śleṣa-virodhinī.*
(v) *Śuddhi-tattva-kārikā.*

2 Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma Bhattācārya. (*Circa*, end of the 16th century).
Author of

(i) *Padārtha-khandana-tīkā*
(ii) *Nyāya-kusumāñjali-vyākhyā*
Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā
(iii) *Guna-rahasya*
(iv) *Nyāya-rahasya*
(v) *Dīdhiti-ṭīkā*
(vi) *Ṣaṭ-cakra-dīpikā*
(vii) *Samāsa-vāda*

3. Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa Bhattācārya (*Circa* 1650).
Author of the
Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā-tīkā

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

Some Tales of Ancient Israel, their Originals and Parallels*

2. Solomon's Judgment

A. *The story in the Bible*

An instance of Solomon's wisdom is related in the Bible, 1 Kings, Ch. 3. Two harlots came before the king. They dwelt in the same house. One said that she was delivered of a child, and the other was also delivered on the third day, but by overlaying it she killed it and took her son from her side and laid it in her bosom Both of them claimed the living child The king ordered: "Divide the living child into two, and give half to the one and half to the other."

"26. Then spake the woman whose the living child *was* unto the king, for her bowels yearned upon her son, and she said, O my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. But the other said, let it be neither mine nor thine, *but* divide it."

"27. Then the king said, Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it: she *is* the mother thereof."

B. *Mahosadha's Judgment*

(extract from the cy. on Mahāummagga-Jātaka no. 546)

Story of the son—A certain woman had come to Mahosadha's tank, bathed her son, laid him on her dress and herself entered the tank to bathe A Yakṣiṇī (female goblin) desiring to eat the child, put on the guise of a woman, came to the spot, begged permission of the mother to suckle him, and after playing with him for a while carried him off. The other ran after her crying, "Where are you taking away my boy?" The Yakṣiṇī said, "Whence did you get your son? he is my son" The dispute came before Mahosadha. He knew at once by her unwinking and red eyes that she was a goblin but helped the public to find out the truth. He drew a line on the ground, laid the boy in the middle of it, bade the Yakṣiṇī hold the boy by the hands, and the mother by the legs and said, "The boy belongs to

* Continued from p. 233

her who pulls him over." Both began to pull, but the boy thus stretched began to cry in pain; the mother let him go and stood weeping (*mātā badayena phalitena viya puttam mocetva rodamānā aṭṭhāsi*). To her the child was given. Mahosadha disclosed the identity of the Yakṣiṇī to the assembly and admonished her: "*Andhabāle, pubbe pi pāpakam katvā yakkhinī jātāsi, idāni pana pi pāpam karosi...*"

C. *Jain Stories from Nandī Sūtra*

(*i*) No. 17. *Story of the Putta* (son)—A certain merchant had two wives, the one bore a son, the other was sterile. The other had, however, so much affection for the boy that he did not know particularly who was his real mother. The merchant went with his son and two wives to another land where he died. The wives started quarelling. The one said. "The boy is mine, I am therefore the mistress of the house " The other retorted likewise. The mother came to the court. The *amātya* ordered his officers: "Look here, first divide all articles, and then divide the boy by a saw, and having done that give one part to the one and the other to the other. When the real mother of the boy heard the order she was stunned as if a thousand-flamed thunderbolt had struck her head, and the oblique dart of sorrow had pierced the very core of her heart. She said "My lord, the minister, let hers be the son, let her be the mistress also, I have no need of money, I would fain live away in poverty in another's house, still see my son alive; without my son, even now, I feel the world is sinking in darkness." The other woman spoke nothing. The boy was given to the rightful mother.

(*ii*) *Story of Tīrthankara Sumatināthā's Mother* (*who was a queen*).—The Tīrthaṅkara was so called because when he was in the womb of his mother, her intellect sharpened, and she gave the wise verdict noted below. (See Mrs. Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism* p. 52, also *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra . *Yadvā garbhasthe jananyāḥ suniścitā matirabhuditi Sumatiḥ*)

This incident is also told in (*iii*) another story of the Nandīsūtra viz. *Atthasattha* as follows:—An old banker came with two wives and son to the country of Sumatināthā and died there. Each woman claimed the one child as hers. At this time Lord Sumati was in the womb of his mother Mangalādevī. She knew the truth. She summoned the two wives and said, "After a few days my son will be born; when he will grow up, he will sit

under the Aśoka tree and solve your dispute, therefore do you bide the time, eat and drink without care." Then the woman who was not the mother of the boy thought, "Anyhow I have got so much time, I do not know what will happen hereafter" and gladly assented to the proposal. The queen knew she was not the mother of the boy and scolded her, and declared the other to be the real mother. The queen's *autpattikī buddhi*.

D. *A Tibetan Tale*

This has a close parallel in *Tibetan Tales* (pp. 120-21) A householder whose wife bore no child took a concubine who bore a son but who fearing harm from the step-mother made him over to the wife. The wife thought: "As she who has a son ranks as the mistress of the house, I will bring him up." On the death of the householder the wives quarrelled about the possession of the house, each asserting that it belonged to her. The king asked the ministers to enquire about the ownership of the son. The ministers could not decide. Viśākhā advised Mṛgadhara to ask the women to pull the boy, and whoever was the stronger would take him. When the boy being pulled would cry out for pain, the real mother would let him go knowing that if her child remained alive she would be able to see him again.

Johannes Hertel[5] writing in 1922 observed: "Let us first consider the ***problem of the migration of stories*** The story books which have been proved to have been imported, directly or indirectly, from India to Europe, and previously to the establishment of British rule in India are the following: the story of Barlaam and Joasaph, the books contained in 'Kalilah and Dimnah' . a Jain recension of Śukasaptati, the romance of Syntipas and the voyage of the Sons of Giaffer." A characteristic story of the Syntipas was discovered in Ratnacūda-kathā narrated in two Śvetambara books, one in old Gujrati and the other in Sanskrit. He has no doubt that "some day or other, the other two will be discovered in the literature of the Śvetambars of Gujrat."

With regard to the story of the judgment of Solomon he says· "It has indeed been proved that the premises on which the whole story has been constructed are only to be found in India. . . In all the other cases the only way to arrive at sound conclusions is, to compare the whole mass

5 J Hertel, *op. cit*, pp 11-12.

of all the European variants of a story to the whole mass of the Indian variants of the same story, and to prove, on the basis of the results of such an examination, that a single variant, which of course in most cases will not be the original one, was transferred from India to Europe, or *vice-versa*." The task is stupendous. I have been putting forth efforts in this direction.

3. Solomon's Wisdom

A. *The Root-end of a stick*

(*i*) The Queen of Sheba puts a number of riddles to Solomon One of them is:

19. The Queen of Sheba thereupon ordered that the sawn trunk of a cedar tree be brought, and then she asked Solomon to tell her at which end the root had been and at which end the branches.

Solomon ordered the trunk to be cast into the water, and one end sank, whilst the other floated on the surface of the water. Then he said unto her· "The part which sank was the root, and that which floated on the surface was the end containing the branches "[6]

(*ii*) *Jain Nandīsūtra*

A king of a foreign country sent to the Murunḍa king of Pāṭaliputra three curious things of which one was *samā yaṣṭī* i.e. a level stick, of uniform roundness and asked him to tell which was the root-end. Ācārya Pādalipta who was at his court bade the stick be thrown into water, one end was found to be heavier than the other, therefore that was the root of the stick. This story is also found in (*iii*) Jaina Pariśiṣṭaparvan. (*iv*) One version occurs in Pāli Jat. no. 546 (story no. 8)—"The Pole." A span of acacia pole nicely turned was sent to East Market Town and the people ordered to find which was the top and which the root of the stick." Mahosadha tied a string round its middle, let it down in water, the root being heavier sank first. (*v*) Another version is given in the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, (*Gilgit Mss*, III, 2 p. 64).

(*vi*) In the preface to Jīvānanda's edition of *Mudrārākṣasa* the following story occurs: Once some kings advised by ministers sent to king Nanda

6 Rappoport—*Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel*, vol. III, pp 129-30 See also p 127: "The *Midrash Hachefez* however contains nineteen riddles" A similar story in Jāt. no. 546.

of Magadha a sealed casket containing a cubit length of *deodar* wood smoothly and evenly turned requesting him to find out the top and root end of the stick (*kimasya mūlaṃ kā vāsya śikhā*). The problem was similarly solved by the Brahman Subuddhi who was made the Chief minister of the king and in time became the celebrated Rākṣasa.

(*vii*) *A Tibetan Tale* (*Mahausadha and Visākha*)

"On another occasion, a merchant from the south brought a stem of sandal wood, of which no one knew the upper end from the lower. Mahausadha's wife told him to throw the stem into a pool. The root end would then sink downwards." (*viii*) See also *Śukasaptati-38th Night*.

B. *Various relations between a woman and her son*

Said the Queen of Sheba: "I will ask thee another question. A woman once said unto her son: Thy father is my father, thy grandfather my husband, thou art my son but I am thy sister."

To which Solomon made answer· "It must surely have been Lot's daughter who thus spoke to her son."[7] The origin of the story is to be found in (a) the story of Utpalavarṇā as given in the *Tibetan Tales* and (b) a story in Jain *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan*.

(a) (i) *Tibetan Tales*, No. X. pp. 286 ff.

As Utpalavarṇā's mother entered into illicit intercourse with her husband, she flung her new-born daughter to her husband and left the house. She then joined a caravan proceeding to Mathura and married the leader. The latter returned to Takṣaśilā and married Utpalavarnā's daughter. When Utpalavarnā discovered it, she left the house again and came to Vaisāli and became a courtesan. There she gave birth to a son and asked her maid to expose him. He was adopted by the eastern warder at Vaisāli. Afterwards she gave birth to a daughter who was adopted by the western warder. Subsequently she had to marry the eastern warder's son to whom was also given the western warder's daughter to wife. Utpalavarṇā now bore a son to her new husband. The western warder's daughter was one day sporting with the child when a Brahman came and asked how the boy was related to her. She said: "He is my brother, the son of my brother, my son (i.e., step-son), and my brother-in-law. His father is my father (i.e., step-father), my brother, and now my husband."

7 Rappoport—*Op. cit.*, vol. III, p 127

(ii) The Tibetan tale itself has been derived from the *Therī-gāthā* Commentary, pp. 182 ff.

(b) Story in Jain *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (Introduction, and Canto II. ślokas 224-314).

The story of the Courtesan Kuberasenā who married her son Kuberadatta. Kuberasenā gave birth to twins Kuberadatta and Kuberadattā. She put them in a box which floated down the Yamuna and reached Sāyaranagara. Two merchants adopted each one of them. They were subsequently married, but before consummation accidentally discovered their true relation. Kuberadatta went to Mathura and was seduced by Kuberasenā to marry her. By him she had a son. Kuberadattā, who had become a nun, went to Mathura, took her abode in her brother's house, and addressed the child· "You are my brother, son, brother-in-law, nephew, uncle, and grandson and child. Your father is my brother, father, grandfather, husband, son and father-in-law. Your mother is my mother, grandmother, my brother's wife, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law, and husband's second wife."

Jacobi cites in the footnote the following references—story of Oidipus and the mediaeval legend of Gregorious and the 17th story of Erotica of Parthenius, De Periande Matre.

C. *The Queen asked Solomon "Distinguish between the males and females."*

In the Tibetan Tale (no. VIII) Mahausadha was asked to distinguish between the male and the female serpent. Viśākhā showed him how to do it.

4. King Solomon and his Daughter[8]

King Solomon had a daughter of peerless beauty named Kaziah Once he read in the stars that she would marry a poor and destitute lad of the children of Israel. Greatly grieved at this, Solomon made up his mind to prevent the occurrence of such an event, and in order to do so he sent his daughter away from Jerusalem.

She was placed in a high tower in a distant island out in the sea. Strict secrecy was maintained, the place was thoroughly secluded and secure-

8 Rappoport—*Op. cit.*, vol III, pp. 109-11.

ly guarded, and none could penetrate into the tower. The husband of the princess was a poor lad named Reuben from Akko. Journeying on one cold dark night he took shelter in the torn carcass of an ox which was carried by an enormous bird to the top of the tower. The boy and the girl met and later on plighted their troth.

The confinement of the girl in the tower to prevent the marriage has its parallel in the Ghaṭa-Jātaka (no 454) which may be its source. Therein we read that it was told by the soothsayers that a son born of Devagabbhā would destroy the line of her brother Kaṃsa. (*Tassā jātadivase nemittika-brāhmaṇā "etissā kucchiyaṃ nibbattaputto Kamsabhogaṃ Kaṃsavaṃsaṃ nāsissatīti vyākariṃsu*). So she was kept confined in a single round tower (*ekathūṇakaṃ pāsādaṃ*), where she was watched by Nandagopā and her husband Andhakavenhu Upasāgara, her destined husband, however, contrived to meet her there. Cf. also *PVA* II 6 (p. 93) and II 9 (p. 111).

Another story is told in the *Dhammapada-atthakathā* (*Dhpd* XXVI. 33) where the daughter of a banker is guarded in a seven-storied palace (*sattabhūmakapāsāda*). Now a Vidyādhara flying through the air alighted on the palace and lived with her and as a consequence she conceived. (*Sā tena saddhiṃ samvāsam anvāya na cirass'eva gabbhaṃ paṭilabhi Atha nam sā dāsī disvā "Amma kim idan" ti vatvā hotu mā kassaci ācikkhi"*... When after ten months she was delivered of a son he put him in a new vessel, covered it over by means of flower garlands, and asked the maid-servant to consign it to the Ganges. The boy was saved. This incident is the fore-runner of the story how Moses was exposed in an ark of bulrushes on the water of the Nile[9] and was saved by Thermutis, the daughter of the Pharaoh.

The incident of Reuben being carried by an enormous bird to the roof of the tower where Kaziah was confined has its parallel in the story of Udena (which has many versions). It is related in the *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā* that "a monster bird with a bill as big as an elephant's trunk came soaring through the air. Seeing the queen (of Parantapa and Udena's mother) and mistaking her for a piece of meat, he spread his wings and swooped down. The bird pounced upon her, caught her up in his talons and soared away with her into the air.........

(This is probably the origin of the stories of roc bird in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*).

9 Rappoport—*Op cit*, vol II, ch. XVII.

There are other incidents in the Solomon stories which can be traced to Indian sources (e.g., *K.S.S.*, *Śuka-saptati* etc.).

5. The Dethroned King

With regard to the Dethroned King legend of Solomon which spread widely in Europe, Rappoport remarks:—"Now the legends told respectively in the ***Gesta Romanorum*** and in the above-mentioned mediaeval poems are based upon the tale of Solomon as told in the Talmudic legend and particularly upon the version given in ***Jerushalmi Talmud***. It has been pointed out that the Jews themselves had been influenced by the literature of India. "Legends told of Vikramāditya" wrote Benfey, "have been applied to Solomon... .." This theory of Benfey has been adopted by Varnhagen. According to this author, India was the cradle of all the imaginative tales, of myths and legends which delighted the mediaeval ages and have been handed down to modern times."[10]

6. David and Ishbi Benob

The story of David and Ishbi Benob resembles one in the Rāmāyaṇa. Satan took the form of a deer and enticed away David (while hunting) into the land of the enemy. Ishbi Benob (brother of the giant Goliath whom David had killed) seized and imprisoned him Abishai, a servant of David, while washing his head, saw drops of blood in the water and heard the moaning plaint of a dove (the symbol of the people of Israel) and concluded that these portents indicated that the king was in danger. He went to rescue the king. The earth flew under him (a miracle) and he arrived quickly in front of Ishbi's house. Here he met Ishbi's mother, Orpah, who flung a spindle at him with intent to kill him. Abishai flung back the spindle which killed Orpah. Ishbi hurled up David in the air, and held his lance up with intent to transfix him as he would fall through the air. Abishai quickly uttered the Ineffable name of God, which had the effect of arresting David in his fall and keeping him suspended between Heaven and Earth.

(Cf. the famous story of Triśaṅku and the suspension in the air of sacrificial victims in Janamejaya's *sarpa-yajña*—undoubted source of the Israel story).

10 Rappoport—*Op cit*, vol III, p. 148.

Rappoport cites the story of demon Mārīca assuming the disguise of a golden deer whom Rāma pursued at Sītā's request. The situation is different but there is the common element of the deer enticing the hunter and leading him into danger. "Are we entitled to conclude that the Talmudical legend is of Indian origin and the Rabbis of the Talmud had received the story from Persian sources?"[11] asks he.

Commenting on the motif of the water changing into blood as a sign of danger, Rappoport observes: "This motive is found not only in Egyptian legend of the 14th century B.C., but also in a Serbian tale, in the famous mediaeval French novel *Histoire d'Olivier de Castille et d'Artus d'Algarbe* where the water as a sign of danger turns black; in a Russian popular tale, and in many other European folk-tales."[12]

In the *Campeyya-jātaka* (no. 506) Sumanā asks the Nāga King to tell her how she should know (*yena mimittena jāneyyāma*) if any danger befalls him. Then he brings her to the edge of a *maṅgala-pokkharanī* (tank) and says · "*Sace mam bhadde koci paharitvā kilamessati imissā pokkharaṇiyā udakam āvilaṃ bhavissati sace abhiguṇtiko gaṇhissati udakam lohitavaṇṇaṃ* (the water will turn blood-red) *bhavissatī*" *ti* . Such motifs are plentiful in the folklore of India, ancient, or mediaeval.

7. The Story of the Fox and the Weasel[13]

The angel of death was commanded by the Lord of the Universe to throw into the sea a pair, male and female, from every species of creatures The fox showing the angel his reflection on the sea cheated him and escaped. His friend the Weasel followed his example of cunning. Now Leviathan, the king of all creatures in the sea, not finding them there asked the fishes to entice the fox into the water and fetch him before him. The flattering message of the fishes that the dying king Leviathan, hearing of his cunning, wanted to crown the fox and leave him his kingdom, put him off his guard and he sat upon the back of the fishes, and was in mid-sea. Then suspecting foul play the fox asked them to tell the truth. The fishes said, "King Leviathan has said 'I will cut open his body and swallow his heart, and be as wise and cunning as the fox'."

Then the fox said unto the fishes: "Why did you not tell me the truth at once? I would then have taken my heart with me and offered it as a

11 Rappoport—*Op cit*, p 32 12 *Ibid*, p 33.
13 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp 160 ff.

gift to the king.. . Such is the custom among us foxes. We leave our hearts behind us in a safe place, and we walk about without any heart. When once we need it, we go home and fetch it..... ." He prevailed upon the fishes to carry him back, reached the sea-shore and danced for joy."

This story has undoubtedly been taken from the Suṃsumāra-jātaka (no. 208) where the monkey deceived the dolphin and said that he was a fool to have believed that "*ambākaṃ hadayānı ekasmım udumbare olambantīti*" The story has many versions, e.g. *Mahāvastu* (Senart, vol. II, 246), Markata-jātaka and Chinese version in Beal's *Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha* from Chinese-Sanskrit. Vānara-jāt. (342), *Pañcatantra* iv, 1, Śukasaptati No. 67, *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (Tawney, vol. II, 84), also further notes given in Andersen's *Pāli Reader*, Pt. I.

Rappoport says "The story of the fox and the weasel . which is taken from the *Alphabetum Siracidis* finds a parallel in Yalkut I, §182, and in Berechya Ha-Nakdan's *Fox-fables* no. 105. An exactly similar story is found in Benfey's *Pantshatantra*, and in the Syr. translation of Bickell where it is related of the turtle "[14] This will show how widely the story has spread.

8 Piety of Moses

(a) Moses was faithfully tending the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro in the desert of Midian. An angel appeared to him in the disguise of a white wolf, and asked him to give him a lamb to appease his hunger. Moses marvelled that the beast was endowed with human speech. The wolf replied "Dost thou wonder that an animal speaketh? One day the Law will be given through thee, and thou wilt thyself relate the story of the golden calf which will open its mouth and speak and the story of the speaking ass of Balaam."

Moses refused to give him a lamb as it belonged to Jethro nor would he leave his post to ask his permission which, however, he ultimately procured.[15]

In Jain stories we have come across the incident of a speaking animal. Jinaprabha Sūri caused a buffalo to speak in human voice and take part in dialectics.

14 Rappoport—*Op cit*, vol I, Intro pp. XI

15 *Ibid*, vol. II, pp 260-2

(b) Rappoport says, "A similar story.... .is told in the *Tuti-Nameh* (translation by G. Rosen, ii, pp. 32-33, also Bin Gorion). Here it is: One day a dove suddenly came flying to Moses imploring his protection from a pursuing hawk, which argued that Moses had no right to deprive him of his rightful prey.

Moses said: "Is it food in general, any food, thou seekest, or just this dove? If it is food thou art after, then I will do my best to give thee satisfaction but if it is this dove thou wishet to devour, then I will not let the bird go." In the end Moses cut from his holy limbs a piece of flesh, equivalent in weight to that of the dove. The hawk said, "I am no hawk at all, but the angel Michael, and the dove thou hast lovingly taken care of is the angel Gabriel."[16]

This is the famous story told in the Sibi-jātaka (no. 499) and its versions in Āryasura's *Jātakamālā;* to be found also in the *Mbh* The scene is represented on Bharhut Stupa (See Cunningham Plate XLVIII 2), also on Ajanta frescoes. The story has reappeared in folk-tales of many provinces of India.

9. Staying the Sun's Course

In the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (*Sukhasāmaneravatthu,* commy. on Dhp. X. II) we come across a passage where Sakka commands the sun and the moon, "Stop the movement of your cars and stand still" (*Candimasuriyā attano vimānāni ganhitvā tiṭṭhatha ti ānāpesi, te pi tathā karimsu*). A similar command is found in the *Mbh* In the Bible the sun was asked to stop his course.

The real nature of the sun and moon was not appreciated and an anthropo-morphic view of them was held The sun and the moon weep at the death of Moses[17]

Kalipada Mitra

16 Rappoport— *Op cit*, vol II, pp. 262-63.
17 *Ibid*, pp 359-60.

The besprinkling Ceremony of the Rājasūya and its constitutional Significance*

The central ceremony of the *Rājasūya*, viz. the besprinkling of the sacrificer with the consecration water, takes place immediately after his figuratively mounting the quarters. In this ceremony the sacrificer is sprinkled with holy water by four distinct persons, as the authorities add with priestly pedantry, from as many different kinds of wooden vessels.

In the White Yajus ritual (*Ś.B.*, V. 3. 5. 11-14 and 4.2.2.) these persons are·—

Adhvaryu (or *purohita*), *sva* (king's kinsman or brother), *mitrya-rājanya* (friendly *rājanya*) and *vaiśya*.

In the Black Yajus ritual the persons mentioned are:—

Adhvaryu, Rājanya, Vaiśya and *Janya* (*T.B.* I. 7.8.7).

Adhvaryu, Brahman (or *Kṣatriya*), *Vaiśya* and *Janya mitra* (*Āp Ś.S* XVIII. 16. 1-5).

Adhvaryu, Brahman (or *Kṣatriya*), *Vaiśya* and *Janya mitra* (Hir. quoted in Caland, *Āp. Ś.S.* tr., p. 145).

Brahman, Vaiśya, Bhrātrvya and *Janya mitra* (*Man. Ś.S.* quoted Caland *loc. cit*).

Brahman, Vaiśya, Bhrātrvya and *Janya mitra* (*M.S.* IV. 4. 2).

What is the constitutional significance of the above ceremony? According to Dr K. P. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, p. 25) "the *Abhiṣecanīya* is two-fold, the first part is the sprinkling of the waters by what may be described as different estates of the realm and the second is the theological anointing on the head by the priest just before the king-elect ascends the throne (*āsandī*)." We are not concerned here with this 'second part except

* ABBREVIATIONS

TS	= Taittiriya Saṃhitā
MS.	= Maitrāyani Saṃhitā
ŚB	= Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
TB.	= Taittiriya Brāhmana
Āp ŚS	= Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
Hir.	= Hiraṇyakeśi Śrauta Sūtra
Man ŚS	= Mānava Śrauta Sūtra
Āp. Ś.S. Tr	= DasŚrautasūtra des Āpastamba, aus dem Sanskrit ubersetzt von W. Caland, Books xvi-xxxi.

simply to point out that in the White Yajus ritual (*V.S.*, X. 25; *Ś.B.*, V. 4. 4. 27) the ceremony consists in the priest's drawing down the sacrificer's two arms to the dish of curds placed on a tiger-skin with the following formula: —

'I draw you down, the arms of Indra the doer of mighty deeds.'

In the Black Yajus ritual (Cf. *TS.*, I 8.15) the ceremony consists in the sacrificer's putting his hands in the clotted curds for the All-Gods with the formula: —

'By the precept of Mitra and Varuna, the directors, I yoke thee with the yoking of the sacrifice.'

There is then no question of the priest's anointing the sacrificer on the head in connection with the above ceremoy

As regards 'the first part' which alone corresponds to the besprinkling ceremony we have described above, Jayaswal first remarks that in the White Yajus texts "the Śūdra is absent and the kinsman seems to be a tautology." He then observes that Janya of the *T B* list stands for the Śūdra "in the sense of a man of the hostile tribe as in *Ait Br*, VII. 26 and as originally he was." But in the passage last quoted *janyāni* is equated not with the hostile tribes, but with the king's rivals who vie with and hate him (*janyāni sapatnā vai dviṣanto bhrātṛvyā* in the original). Some of these rivals at any rate presumably were of Kṣatriya caste In the next place Caland (*op cit.*, p. 145) has shown by a comparison with the parallel texts of *MS.* and *Man Ś.S.* that *janya mitra* is the complete form of *janya* of the *T B* and that it means a friend from a foreign country ('ein Freunde aus der Fremde'). By the same comparison Caland has proved the correct reading of the *Āp. Ś S.* text to be *janyo mitram* [in place of *janyamitram* and other variants given in Garbe's edition (Bib. Ind. ed p. 66)].

It thus appears that the relevant texts do not support the case for the Śūdra's participation in the besprinkling ceremony. As regards the part played by the persons actually mentioned, we may first refer to the dogmatic exposition of the texts themselves To begin with the White Yajus ritual, *ŚB.*, V. 3.5. 11-14, explaining the result (or the cause) of the besprinkling by the Brahman, one of the King's own and the friendly *rājanya*, states that the sacrificer is thereby sprinkled (endowed) successively with priestly dignity, with sustenance and with support. As for the Black Yajus ritual *MS.*, IV. 4.2 declares the consequence of the ceremony to be that the sacrificer is endowed by the Brahman with priestly dignity, he acquires strength from

the people, he wins vigour as well as food and the like from the rival, and he gains through the *janya* a friend. According to *T.B.*, (I. 7.8.7) the Brahman endows him with priestly dignity, the *Rājanya* with vigour and food, the Vaiśya with abundance and the *Janya* is the means of gaining him friends. Equating the King's 'own man' and the friendly *Rājanya* of the *ŚB.* with the *Rājanya—Kṣatriya—Bhrātṛvya* and with the *Janya mitra* of other texts respectively and allowing for the occurrence of the *Adhvaryu* (or *Brahman*) priest in all lists, we may estimate the significance of the besprinkling ceremony in the following way. In so far as the *Adhvaryu* and the *Rājanya* (or their equivalents) as well as the *Vaiśya* are concerned, they involve the participation of representatives of the three higher castes in the central ceremony of the Vedic coronation. This marks the closest approach to the principle of representation of Estates that the Vedic State ever attained. On the other hand the participation of the *janya mitra* ('a friend from a foreign country') probably indicates the importance of the foreign ally for the Vedic State, thus anticipating the *suhṛt* of the stock list of seven limbs (*saptāṅga*) of the Arthaśāstra-smṛti polity of later times. We may sum up by saying that the besprinkling ceremony of the Rājasūya represents, not as Jayaswal thinks, the single principle of representation of estates but rather the combination of this principle with that of political alliances of the Vedic State.

U N. Ghoshal

MISCELLANY

A Note on the alleged metrical defect in the Legend-verse on the seal of the Pīparḍūlā Copper-plate Inscription

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (XIX, p. 142), Messrs. D. C. Sircar and L. P. Pandeya make the following remark with reference to the legend on the seal of the Pīparḍūlā copper-plate inscription of king Narendra of Śarabhapura. "The versifier was morever not skilled enough; he allowed a *Laghuṣaṣṭha* in the foot of the verse and this he could have easily avoided by writing—*jita-kṣiteḥ* instead of—*jitabhuvaḥ*." Further on p. 145 (*Ibid.*) in a foot-note on the text of the legend of the seal, they say "to rectify the metre, one may suggest the emendation—*kṣiteḥ*." The verse originally reads thus;

खड्गधाराजितभुवः शरभात्प्राप्तजन्मनः ।
नृपतेश्श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य शासनं रिपुशासिनः ॥

We propose to show here that the remark about the metrical defect and the suggested emendation—*both* are uncalled for. Firstly, it should be noted that the *Laghu-ṣaṣṭha* in the first foot of the verse does not warrant the conclusion that the author was not skilled enough. The restriction of the *Guru-ṣaṣṭha* for the standard Anuṣṭubh-quarter holds good *only* in the case of even (*Sama*) quarters. As regards the odd (*Viṣama*) quarters, the restriction of the *Guru-ṣaṣṭha* is not strictly enforced and numerous verses can be quoted from standard writers to show that this restriction is not generally observed, e.g.,

Kālidāsa.	अनाकृष्टस्य विषयैः......	[रघुवंश I-23]
Bhāravi:	युयुत्सुनेव कवचम्. ...	[किरातार्जुनीय XI-15]
Māgha:	मम तावन्मतमिदम्....	[शिशुपालवध II-12]
Bhavabhūti:	शोकक्षोभे च हृदयम्	[उत्तरचरित III-29]

Sircar and Pandeya are not therefore justified in finding fault with the versification of the first foot of the legend-verse. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the verse occurs as a legend on the royal seal, which should have been used in all important royal charters. An unsuccessful handling of the metre of the very legend of royal seal is therefore not likely to be tolerated, if the restriction of the *Guru-ṣaṣṭha* were generally observed.

Secondly, the emendation suggested by Sircar and Pandeya is entirely hopeless and reminds one of a remedy worse than the disease. The

suggested reading of the verse "*Khadga-dhārājita-kṣiteḥ*" can never fit in the verse as the first foot, for as I have shown elsewhere,[1] if the fifth and sixth syllables are *short* and *long* respectively, the seventh syllable must be *long* to allow the odd quarter to become a permissible variety. The suggested reading of the legend is therefore totally wrong, for the seventh syllable "*kṣi*" does not conform to the above rule. For further details and comprehensive treatment of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre—its history and varieties, my two articles published in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. II (1936) and VI (1940) on this subject may be consulted.

S. P. CHATURVEDI

Vikramāditya : President of a Republic

A welcome light has been thrown on the historicity and status of Vikramāditya by the following two extracts from a manuscript of the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa (dated the 5th day of the bright half of Āgrahāyaṇa, 1699 Vikrama Samvat, and now in the possession of Pt. Keshava Prasad Mishra, Head of the Department of Hindi, Benares Hindu University): —

(i) आर्ये रसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोः **विक्रमादित्यसाहसाङ्कस्या**भिरूपभूयिष्ठेयं परिषत्। अस्याञ्च कालिदासप्रयुक्तेनाभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलनाम्नानवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः (नान्द्यन्ते)

(ii) भवतु तव बिडौजाः प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु
त्वमपि विततयज्ञो वज्रिणं भावयेथाः।
गणशतपरिवर्त्तैरेवमन्योन्यकृत्यै-
र्नियतमुभयलोकानुग्रहश्लाघनीयैः ॥ VII. 34

The first extract proves that the patron of Kālidāsa was a ruler, whose proper name was Vikramāditya and Sāhasānka was his title. The second extract shows that he was connected with a gana (a republican state) and probably he was at the head of a confederation of a number of republican states (the number Śata = 100 appears to be a round and exaggerated one).

The tradition of the country associates Vikramāditya with Ujjayinī (the capital of Avanti = western Malwa), with the defeat of the Śakas and with the foundation of an era in B.C. 57. The era started by Vikramāditya is

1 *Nagpur University Journal*, Vol. VI (1940), p. 56.

essentially a Mālava era. The earliest local era known in Malwa is Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-kāla known from the Mandasor stone inscription.* The existence of the Mālava republic in the first century B.C. in Malwa has been proved by certain coins bearing the legend Mālavagaṇsyaṃ jayaḥ (victory of the Mālava republic).

The Mālavas were originally living in the Punjab at the time of the Indian campaign of Alexander. Weakened by their defeat at the hands of Alexander, supressed by the imperialist Mauryas and further pressed by the Bactrian invasions of India, they, together with some other republican tribes of the Punjab, migrating via eastern Rajputani finally settled in Ākara-Avanti and gave their name to this part of the country later on.

In the first century B.C. the Śakas occupied Seistan and perhaps some part of Sindh. From here they wanted to capture ancient Avanti-rāṣṭram (Malwa including Surāṣṭra). In this attempt they were hurled back by the combined afforts of the republican states in Central India led by the Mālava-gaṇa under the leadership of Vikramāditya This signal success was celebrated by the foundation of an era, in the beginning known as the Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti and later on as the Vikrama Samvat.

R B. PANDEY

Date of Rasakadambakallolinī, a Commentary by Bhagavaddāsa on the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva—Between A.D. 1550 and 1600

Jayadeva, the author of the celebrated *Gītagovinda* flourished "between 1200 and 1300 A.C"[1] He is said to have been a protégé of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, whose Gayā inscription is dated A.D. 1116.[2] Aufrecht[3] records MSS. of numerous commentaries on the *Gītagovinda* I have not studied the chronology of all these commentaries and hence cannot say anything about them in this paper, which is devoted to the chronology of one of these commentaries viz. the *Rasakadambakallolinī* of Bhagavaddāsa.

* Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No 18

1 P. V Kane, *Sāhityadarpana*, ed 1923 Intro p cxxxiii

2 Bühler, *Kashmir Report*, p. 64

3 Vide *CC*, I, 153; *CC*, II, 31, 197, *CC*, III, 33. Vide also *IO Cata.*, VII, Nos 3860-66, 3868-73, A. B Keith (*IO. Cata*) Nos 7043-6, 8125 etc

This commentary is represented by some MSS. recorded by Aufrecht[4] in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. These MSS. are as follows: —

CC., I, 154—"Bh. 25."

CC., II, 31—"Rgb. 345" (= No. 345 of 1884-87—B.O.R. Institute).

CC., III, 33—"IO 3054,[5] Lz. 435,[6] Peters[7] 5, 343, 344".

Besides the MSS. of Bhagavaddāsa's commentary recorded by Aufrecht, I find a MS. of it recorded by Dr H. Poleman in his *Census of Indic MSS. in U S.A. and Canada.*[8] In my *Catalogue of Kāvya MSS.*[9] *at the B.O.R. Institute* (Govt. MSS. Library) I have described all MSS. of the *Gītagovinda* and its commentaries available at this Institute. The MSS of Bhagavaddāsa's *Rasakadambakallolinī* described by me are: —

(1) *No 345 of 1884-87*, (2) *No 77 of A 1879-80* dated *Saṃ.* 1684 (= A.D. *1628*), (3) *No. 45 of 1871-72;* (4) *No. 343 of 1892-95.*

In the *Catalogue of Adyar MSS.*[10] numerous MSS. of the text of the

4 *CC*, I, p 154 and *CC*, III, 33 A MS of this commentary has been described by Dr Eggeling (see *India Office Cata*, part VII, No 3871) who observes, —

"Besides its verbal explanations, principally founded on the *Amarakośa* and the *Viśvaprakāśa* the commentary lays particular stress on the art of composition as developed in the poem, illustrating it by the rules laid down in rhetorical works and by specimens of poetical composition chosen from the *Bhāgavata* and other *Purānas* as well as from the *Śrngāratilaka*, the *Krsnakarnāmrta* and similar works"

5 Vide p 1456 of *Ind Office Cata*, VII, 1904—MS No 3871, folios 170

6 Vide p. 130 of Aufrecht's *Cata of Leipzig MSS*, 1901, MS. No 435.

7 These MSS are identical with Nos 343 and 344 of 1892-95 in the Govt MSS Library at the B O R Institute, Poona.

8 *American Oriental Series*, vol 12, New Haven, 1938, p 75, MS No 1647—*Gītagovinda* with Bhagavaddāsa's commentary, *Rasakadambakallolini* folios 154 H 1579 (Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachussets), MSS No 1637 to 1654 recorded here are of *Gitagovinda* and its commentaries by (1) *Bhagavaddāsa* (2) *Vanamālin Bhatta*, (3) *Śankaramiśra* (Sam 1815 = A D 1759) (4) ***Kumbhakarnamahendra*** (Sam 1619 = A D. 1563), (5) *Vitthaleśvara* and (6) a Hindī commentary (Sam 1876 = 1820 A D).

9 Vol. XIII, part I, (B O R Institute, Poona, 1940) pp 208-257—MS. No. 344 of 1892-95 is of *Nārāyanabhatta's* commentary on the *Gītagovinda* (pp. 233-34) At the end of it a misleading endorsement is made in a small hand as follows: —

"श्रीमद्वृन्दावनेश्वरी...हृदयेनश्रीमभ्रगवद्दासेन...विरचितेयं रसकदंबकल्लोलिनी"

10 *Sanskrit MSS* (Adyar), part II, 1928, page 17—commentaries recorded here are (1) श्रुतिरञ्जिनी by लक्ष्मीधरसूरि (2) श्रुतिरञ्जिनी by लक्ष्मणसूरि, and (3) केरलव्याख्या on 40 ślokas of 1st sarga.

Gītagovinda and some commentaries[11] thereon are recorded but no MS. of Bhagavaddāsa's commentary is found in this catalogue. The spread of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* to the Deccan is attested by its influence on Bhāskara-Bhaṭ Borikar, a Mahānubhāva author who flourished between 1275 and 1320 A.D. Prof. V. B. Kolte[12] of Amraoti has already pointed out parallel passages from the *Gītagovinda* and Bhāskarabhaṭṭa's *Śiśupālavadha* composed about *Śaka 1230* (*A.D. 1308*). The spread of the *Gītagovinda* in Gujarat has recently been pointed out by Dr. M. R Majmudar[13] of Baroda. This influence is vouched by the stone inscription of Śārṅgadeva dated Samvat 1348 (A.D. *1291*) in which the invocation verse is taken from the last verse of the 1st canto of the *Gītagovinda*.

References in the *Rasakadambakallolinī* to earlier works and authors are as follows as found by me in *MS No. 345 of 1884-87* in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute:—

(1) कर्णामृते, 2, (2) भागवते, 3, 18, 35, 36, 37, 63, 132, 150, (3) भरतः 4, 23, 36, 52, 54, 90, 131, (4) अमरः, 18, 10, 12, 16, 17, 22, 24, 29 30, 34, 38, etc (5) विश्वः, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 28, 32, 34, 39, 48, (6) दंडी, 9, 59, 95, 110, 114, 119, 131, 147, 172, (7) धरणिः, 13, 103, 107, 116, 130, 143, 144, 150, (8) श्रुतिः, 18, (9) भगवद्गीता, 18, 180, (10) दशरूपके, 26, 77, (11) पाद्मे, 35, (12) हारावली, 39, 52, 67, 70, 76, 129, 146, 155, (13) शृंगारतिलके, 41, 45, 52, 66, 65, 74, 80, 100, 143, etc (14) संगीतरत्नाकरे, 51, 53, (15) रतिरहस्ये, 52, 56, 112, (16) रत्नमाला, 52, (17) पंचसायके, 53, 54, 116,—(*c* A D 1324—This work was composed by ज्योतिरीश्वर कविशेखर), (18) वात्स्यायनीये, 56, (19) ब्रह्मसंहितायाम् 62, (20) रसार्णवसुधाकरे, 57, 64, 66, 73, 143, 161, (21) काव्यप्रकाशे, 70, 77,

11 Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* has influenced Canarese literature as well My friend Prof. K G Kundangar of the Rajaram College informs me in a private communication dated 6-11-1940 as follows —

"Aprameya Śāstri of about A D 1750 has written a commentary, in Kannaḍa on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* by name *Śṛṅgāraprakāśike* He hails from Malur (Mysore State). The colophon at its end says:—

"इति श्रीमत्कुक्षिमर्धचविमानस्थितारविंदवल्लिकाप्तेरप्रमेयस्वामिनः पादारविन्दार्चकेन अप्पाजिभट्टारकपुत्रेणाप्रमेयशास्त्रिणा विरचितगीतगोविंदटीकायां शृंगारप्रकाशिकायाम् etc."

Cikka-devarāja (A D. 1672-1704) the ruling prince of Mysore has written a poem called *Gita-gopāla* on the lines of the *Gītagovinda*. . . . From the internal evidence it is suggested that this poem was written by his minister Tiramaleyārya"

12 Vide p. 103 of भास्करभट्ट बोरीकर by V B. Kolte, Amraoti, 1935

13 *Jour. of the Bombay University*, (Sept. 1943) vol. XII, (N.S.) part 2, p 43.

(22) शाश्वतः 70. (23) रत्नकोषः, 82, 155. (24) रसामृतसिंधौ, 123. (25) विश्वप्रकाशः, 150. (26) वाराहसंहितायाम्, 163. (27) स्वामिचरणैः, 179.

(28) मनोरमाकार, 56—"तदुक्तं वात्स्यायनीये पुरुषायितप्रकरणे स्वजघनमेव दोलायमानं सर्वत्र भ्रामयेदिति प्रेंखोलितमिति तत्र सर्वत्रशब्दो मनोरमाकारेण व्याख्यातः मध्यात्पूर्वपश्चिमभागे दक्षिणोत्तरभागे चेति"[14]

(29) रसरत्नदीपिका—fol. 41 "भावयन्ति विशेषेण ये रसान् वै मनोहरान् ।
ते विभावास्तु कथ्यन्ते नाट्यशास्त्रविशारदैः ॥"

All the foregoing references are found in the other MSS. of this commentary at the B.O.R. Institute viz. No 77 of A 1879-80 which is dated A.D. 1628. The following extract containing a reference to Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa of Mewar (A.D. 1433-1469)[15] is found in MS. No. 77 of A 1879-80 but is not found in MS.[16] No. 345 of 1884-87, which appears to be a late copy though it is undated:—

Folio 50a—"इति श्रीगीतगोव्यंदे सप्तदशप्रबंधः ॥

श्लोकः कुंभकरणे[17] उक्तः —

सदानन्दसंदोहकंदं मुकुंदं नमस्कृत्य पद्मांकविद्युत्पयोदं ।
नृपः कुंभकर्णो विधत्ते विचित्रं वरं गीतगोव्यंदधातु विचित्रं ॥१॥

श्रीकृष्ण तवास्मि । सुरतनाथ तवास्मि । तवेदमिति"

14 In MS *No 77 of A 1879-80* of the *Rasakadambakallolinī* this extract reads as follows —

"तदुक्तं वात्स्यायनीये ॥ पुरुषायितप्रकरणे । स्वजघनमेव दोलायमानं सर्वत्र भ्रामयेदिति । प्रेंखोलितं तु विज्ञेयं रसिकैः सर्वदा जनैरिति तत्र सर्वशब्दो मनोरमाकारेण व्याख्यातः । मध्यात्पूर्वपश्चिमभागे दक्षिणोत्तरभागे चेति"

This MS in which the reference to मनोरमाकार is found is dated Samvat 1684= A D 1628 It was copied by मेथजी, son of वासुदेव at मल्लपुर while महाराजाधिराज राउल श्रीउदयकर्ण was ruling (vide also *folio 53* of MS *No 343 of 1892-95* and *folio 68* of MS *No 45 of 1871-72* where the above reference to मनोरमाकार will be found)

15 G S Gahlot, *History of Rajputana*, vol I, p 207, Jodhpur, 1937

16 Vide folio 133a of MS No 345 of 1884-87 where the extract ought to have been between "पीडयावशोकमित्यर्थः" and "तवेदमिति" (in line 6 from the top of the folio).

17 Perhaps the correct reading ought to have been "कुंभकरणेन (कुंभकर्णेन)" as Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa wrote a commentary on the *Gitagovinda* Vide p. 75 of H Poleman's *Indic MSS in U S A*, where MS No. 1152 of this comm called

If the above extract found in a MS. of A.D. 1628 is a genuine part of the *Rasakadambakallolinī* of Bhagavaddāsa we may safely infer that this commentary was composed beween A.D. 1469 and A.D. 1628.

In the list of references recorded above there is a reference to a work called रसामृतसिन्धु[18] (vide folio 123 of MS. No. 345 of 1884-87 and folio 18 of MS. No. 77 of A 1879-80). This work appears to be identical with the भगवद्भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु composed by Sanātana Gosvāmī in A.D. 1542. If this identification is correct the date of Bhagavaddāsa is narrowed down between A.D. 1542 and 1628. These limits may be further narrowed down between say A.D. 1575 and 1620 or so if we can identify the मनोरमाकार mentioned by our commentator with Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita,[20] the author of प्रौढमनोरमा[21] a commentary on the *Prakriyāprakāśa* of his guru Śeṣakṛṣṇa. If Bhagavaddāsa's reference to मनोरमाकार in a MS of A.D. 1628 turns out to be a genuine reference to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita the author of प्रौढमनोरमा, it supports my limits for Bhattoji's date viz. A.D. 1560-1620. In my paper on Bhaṭṭoji's date referred to above I have noted that A.D 1633 is the earliest date of a MS. of Bhattoji's *Śabdakaustubha* (R A S Bengal). Since this paper was published I have traced a MS[22] of an abridge-

रसिकप्रिया dated A D 1563 (Sam, 1619) is recorded Another reference to *Kumbhakarna* is found on folio 3a of MS No 77 A 1879-80 —

"त्वयैवायं गृहिणीमान स्यात् इति सख्यागूढं परिसितमिति कुंभकर्णोक्तेः (Vide folio 7 of MS No. 45 of 1871-72).

18 Vide Aufrecht, *CC*, I   19 *Ibid*, *CC*, I

20 Vide my paper on "A New Approach to the Date of Bhattoji Dīksita" in *Annals* (Tirupati), vol I, part 2, pp 117-127, where I have tried to prove that Bhattoji flourished between c 1560 and 1620 A D.

21 This is a commentary on the *Prakriyāprakāśa* of Śeṣa Krsna, a guru of Bhattoji. Jagannātha Panditarāja did not like Bhattoji's criticism of his guru's work in the मनोरमा and hence he wrote a refutation of मनोरमा in a work called मनोरमाकुचमर्दिनी.

22 Vide H Poleman *Indic MSS in U S A*, (1938), p 130—MS *No* 2635 of *Laghusiddhāntakaumudi* by Varadarāja, a pupil of Bhattoji Dīksita, dated Saṃvat 1680=A.D. 1624 We must necessarily presume some intervals of time between—

(1) the composition of *Siddhāntakaumudī* by Bhattoji

(2) its abridgement by Varadarāja in the form of the *Laghu° Kaumudi*

and (3) the copying of this abridgement in A D 1624 I may also note here the references to मनोरमाकार .—

(1) A D. 1628—MS of रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी refers to मनोरमाकार

ment of Bhaṭṭoji's *Siddhāntakaumudī* dated A.D. 1624. Now we find मनोरमाकार (= Bhaṭṭoji) referred to in a MS. of A.D. 1628. The cumulative effect of all these dates viz, A.D. 1624, 1628, and 1633 strengthens my inference that Bhaṭṭoji's literary career ended by A.D. 1620.

Leaving aside the reference to मनोरमाकार made by Bhagavaddāsa in his Rasakadambakallolinī let us examine some other references which may enable us to fix the earlier limit to his date. Our commentator mentions several times a work on alaṁkāra called the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (vide No. 20 in the list of references given above). This work was composed about A.D. 1330 or A.D. 1350 according to scholars[23] by Śingabhūpāla. This reference enables us to fix about A D. 1400 as one sure limit to the date of the *Rasakadambakallolinī* This limit is further strengthened by another reference made by this commentary to a work on erotics called the *Pañcasāyaka*[24] which was composed by Jyotirīśvara about A.D. 1324 and which is referred to by our author several times (vide No 17 in the list of references) Other references to earlier works like the संगीतरत्नाकर of the 13th century need not be considered as they don't help us to improve our chronology of this author. It would thus be seen that the date of Bhagavaddāsa surely lies between A.D. 1400 and 1600 and if the references to the रसामृतसिन्धु and the मनोरमा turn out to be genuine references to the भगवद्भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु composed in A.D. 1542 and to the प्रौढमनोरमा composed before A.D. 1600 or so by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita we shall be in a position to infer that Bhagavaddāsa composed the *Rasakadambakallolinī* say between A.D. 1600 and 1628, the date of the B.O.R I. MS. of this commentary.

As regards the personal details of our commentator no information except the name of the author and the title of the commentary has been

(2) Bhaṭṭoji's son भानुजिदीक्षित refers to मनोरमा on p 14 of his commentary on अमरकोश (N S Press, 1905)—

"कारग्रहणाच्च इति मनोरमायाम् उणादौ दीक्षिताः"

(3) A D 1652—B O R.I, MS of प्रौढमनोरमा (No. 331 of 1895-1902)

23 Vide pp 242-43 of *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol I, (1923) by Dr. S. K De Prof P V Kane assigns it to about A D 1350 (vide p clxxiii of his *Intro to Sāhityadarpana*, 1923)

24 Vide p. 650 of *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Krishnamachariar, 1937.

recorded by him as will be seen from the following extract at the end of the commentary :—

"प्रफुल्लभगवज्जनं रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी
प्रफुल्लयतु मोहने भजनतानसंवर्द्धिनो ।
समस्तपटुचातुरीवलितगीतगोव्यंदतः[25]
प्रशस्तरसदीपिका मधुरपुंजमंजुषिका ॥२॥

गीतगोव्यंदत[26] इति षष्ठयंतं पदं । सार्वविभक्तिकस्तस् इत्यभिधानात् ॥ ॥ श्रीवृंदावनेश्वर प्रियकृष्णचरणपंकेरुहमकरंदास्वादनपटुचंचरीकसंभाषणमध्यानंदादोलनचपलहृदयेन श्रीमद्भगवद्दासेन भगवज्जनपरितोषाय विरचितेयं रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी श्रीमद्रसवेदिभिर्भगवत्प्रियैः आनंदसंदोह-संदीपितपरमोज्वलरसावगाहितमनसा अहर्निशविचारणीया ॥ ६ ॥ इति श्रीगीतगोव्यंदस्य रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी टीकेयं समाप्ता ॥"[27]

Aufrecht records only one namesake[28] of our commentator and his works, which are commentaries in Hindī on Sanskrit works I have not examined the question of the identity or otherwise of the author of the *Rasakadambakallolinī* with this Hindī commentator.

P. K. GODE

25 MS No 345 of 1884-87 reads "वपित गीतगोविंदतः"

26 *Ibid*, गोविंदतः for गोव्यंदतः

27 I have copied this extract from MS No 77 of A 1879-80

28 Vide *CC*, II, 89—"भगवद्दास In Rgb 652 he is called a pupil of Dāmodara (1) अष्टादशरहस्यटीका (2) ईश्वरतत्त्वनिरूपणटीका

CC, II, 7—"अष्टादशरहस्यानि by Ramānuja Comm by भगवद्दास Rgb 651"

CC, II, 11—"ईश्वरतत्त्वनिरूपण (रामानुजमत) by वरदनायकसूरि" Rgb 652—
Comm. by भगवद्दास Rgb. 652".

MS Rgb 652 and 651 are identical with MSS No 652 of 1884-87 and No 651 of 1884-87 in the Govt MSS Library at the B O R Institute, MS No 651 is dated Saṃvat 1757=A D 1701 In the colophons of both the MSS the author is called a pupil of दामो. The colophon of MS No 651 reads as follows:—

"श्रीप्रतिवादिभयंकराचार्यके विद्यारथी श्रीस्वामीकूवाजोके पोताशिष्य श्रीस्वामी दामोदरजीके शिष्य गुसाई भगवानद्दास ॥ ए अष्टादशरहस्य नामग्रंथ उपरि । व्रजकी भाषामाही । रहस्य प्रकाशनाम ग्रंथ कीयो है ॥६॥ संवत् १७५७ वर्षे आसाढ सुदि गुरुवासर" etc.

Vide p 23 of *Report, Hindi MSS.*, 1914—where we find mentioned one भागवतदास author of भागवतचरित्र (over 10,000 ślokas) No date of this author is known.

A Letter of the Council in Calcutta to Marquis de Bussy, 1784 *

Since the forties of the 18th century, the political destiny of India came to be considerably influenced by the international complications among the European powers. Voltaire aptly observed: "the first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in America and in Asia". The War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, had their repercussions on contemporary Indian politics. As a matter of fact, India, then internally bankrupt in all respects and coveted as respective spheres of influence by the rival European nations like the English, the French and the Dutch, became one of the theatres of their hostilities.

For some time I have been engaged in the preparation of a thesis on Anglo-Dutch relations in India during the 18th century, for which I have been able to secure plenty of valuable materials from certain records of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, including the letter which has been studied in this paper.

In the autumn of 1780 the United Netherlands joined the league against England in the course of the American War of Independence[1] This led England to declare war against Holland and to capture her settlements, even in India.[2] The Dutch settlements of Chinsura, Baranagore, Cassimbazar, Kalkapur and Patna in Bengal and Bihar,[3] and Madras, Pulicat and Negapatam in Southern India, were seized by the English by the end of the year 1781.[4] Trincomali (Trincomalai) and Fort Ostenburgh (? or Olenburg), belonging to them on the island of Ceylon, were captured by the British fleet under the command of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes on the 6th January, 1782,[5] "together with a very large property in military stores

* Read at the Hyderabad Session of the Indian History Congress

1 C Grant Robertson, *England under the Hanoverians*, p 279.

2 *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 7th March, 1782

3 *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 3rd to 21st July, 1781

4 Fullarton, *A View of the English Interests in India*, p. 20, Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, vol II, pp 263-64 Mill, *History of British India*, vol. IV, pp 221-25.

5 We read in the works of Fullarton and Thornton that the Dutch possessions in Ceylon were captured by the English by the end of 1781 But Mill writes that these were "taken by storm" on the 11th January, 1782 (*op cit*, vol. IV, p 225)

and goods, also 150,000 dollars in specie and two India men, ready for Europe."[6]

But the English were not destined to retain Trincomali long in their hands. England had been engaged in war with France also since March 1778.[7] A French force having joined Hyder Ali, the English lost Cuddalore and Permacoil in April 1782.[8] Sir Edward Hughes was encountered by a French fleet under Mons. Suffrein, "one of the best naval commanders whom France had ever produced,"[9] and Trincomali surrendered to the latter on the last day of August 1782.[10] Further efforts of Sir Edward Hughes to get back that place proved to be of no avail.[11]

But in the next year, the treaty of Versailles closed the war which the European powers had been fighting. A treaty of peace and friendship between England and France was signed at Versailles on the 3rd September, 1783, which was soon followed by a peace between England and Holland These provided for the mutual restitution of conquests by the English, the French and the Dutch.

It is clear, however, from certain records that the mutual restoration of conquered territories in India was not effected immediately after the news of the pacification in Europe had reached here. The Dutch governments at Colombo and Batavia complained to the Council in Calcutta against this delay, caused particularly by differences of opinion between the Madras Government, and the representatives of the French in India about the cession of Trincomali to the Dutch. Mr. Hastings observed in his Minute, dated the 16th November, 1784:

" .. That, as by the scrupulous Adherence of the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George to the Letter of the Treaties concluded by Great Britain with France and Holland, both the Letter and spirit of those Treaties have

It is clear from a reference in *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William,* 28th February, 1782, that these were actually captured on the 6th January, 1782 Mr Alexr. Rea (*Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras,* p 30) writes that Trincomali was captured by the English in 1782, but he wrongly asserts that it was "restored to the Dutch the following year."

6 *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William,* 28th February, 1782

7 *Proceedings, Secret Dept., Fort William,* 13th July, 1778.

8 Thornton, *op cit.*, vol II, p 267; Mill, *op cit.*, vol IV, pp 246-47.

9 Mill, *op cit.*, vol IV, p. 242 10 *Ibid.*, p. 253

11 *Letter of Sir Edward Hughes to Lord Macartney,* dated 8th September, 1782; *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William,* 23rd September, 1782.

been defeated and have been suffered by the President and Select Committee to remain unaccomplished to a long and indefinite period. As our Nation acquires no Advantage whatsoever by the Delay; but the French retain possession of every conquest made by them from us, together with the real and substantial possession of Pondicherry and the absolute possession of Trincomale. As the Dutch complain, and have a just plea to complain, that the suspension, which is in effect a direct violation of the Treaty concluded with their nation, is imputable solely to our Perseverence in demanding what the Marquis de Bussy, the Representative of the French Crown, has no authority to yield and is commanded not to yield As the point on which the President and Select Committee of Fort St George have with much vehemence and firmness of Perseverence insisted, is only to be put in possession of the fort and territory of Trincomale, previously to its cession to the Dutch, and for the purpose of enabling them to make the cession. As the only reason for insisting on this point is founded on the Right of the Dutch to actual possession, which if left to the discretion of the Government of France, might be frustrated As the Dutch have themselves waived their claim to this attention on our part to their Rights and desire to receive possession immediately from the French agents. As the Treaties themselves stipulate that all the cessions shall be made in the same epoch, which expression whether it be construed period or Point of time, equally entitles Dutch Company to immediate possession.

As the adherence of the Representatives of our Nation to the claim of being put in possession of Trincomale, no Treaty in term requiring it, may furnish, if not a suspicion, at least a Pretext to alledge it, of an Intention on our part to keep possession after it shall be obtained, and may thereby furnish a just Agreement for the French to withhold it entirely As it can not fail to impress the Natives of India with a false opinion of the Decline of the British Power, to see the French, its great rival, after the close up of a desperate war, retain all the conquests made on our Nation, with all but former possession, which in effect is none, of those, which had been made by us on them And finally, as the Faith and Honour of our Nation, which have been rendered liable to imputation by this unprofitable contention, have been now made to depend for their Preservation on this Government by the References made to it The Governor General recommends in the spirit of the propositions referred to him that a letter be immediately written to the Marquis de Bussy, both requiring him in terms of his instructions to deliver up the Fort of Trincomale and its dependencies to the Representatives of the Dutch Government of Colombo, and empowering him to constitute such Agents as he may think proper to perform so much of this process as may be construed to apper-

tain formally to the representatives of our Nation; and at the same time to require him to deliver over the Fort, Town and Districts of Cuddalore to such Agents as shall be deputed for that purpose to receive the same from the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George .. .. "[12]

The Governor General's Minute received the approval of the other members of the Council in Calcutta, and on the 23rd November, 1784, the following letter was written to Marquis de Bussy, Commander-in-Chief of the French Forces in India by Sea and Land:—

"We receive with satisfaction the kind testimony which your Excellency has afforded of the Treatment received by the French Prisoners from our Government Our concern indeed for the comfort and happiness of the French within these provinces has not ceased with the conclusion of the War, It yet continues, and we have the pleasure to assure ourselves from the sentiments which your Excellency has expressed, and the Humanity with which your Excellency's character is so honorably marked, that your attention to the Prisoners of our Nation would not have been less deserving of our applause had the situation of the two Governments been reversed

Having done ourselves the Honor to reply to your Excellency's Letter of the 10th Septr our next wish is to draw your attention to a subject which has been brought recently, and in a particular manner before us by appeals from the Dutch Governments of Batavia and Colombo, and is of interesting importance to your Nation and to our own as well as to the States of Holland

We have perused and given due consideration to the correspondence that has passed between your Excellency and the Right Hon'ble Lord Macartney and the Select Committee of Fort St. George as low down as the 9th of last July (to which period only it has been yet transmitted to us) concerning the execution of the stipulations agreed upon in the late definitive Treaty between His Britannic and Most Christian Majesty, as far as the same respects the Restitutions to be respectively made by the Representatives of the two Crowns in India, and we have observed that, in consequence of some differences relative to the cession of Trincomale and orders received by your Excellency on this subject, an end was put to the Negociations of the Commissioners appointed on the part of your Excellency, and on the part of Fort St George, and the question referred to Europe for a final decision on it

We are persuaded that had your Excellency known that the powers possessed by this Government gave it a control over the Acts & Proceedings of the other

12 *Foreign Dept, Proceedings*, 23rd November, 1784. (Imperial Record Department).

Presidencies of the East India Company your Excellency would have represented to us any subjects of Difference that impeded the execution of the Definite Treaty instead of referring the same to Europe, Possessing those Powers we wish even at this Time to meet the Desire which we are sure your Excellency possesses to carry into effect the stipulations of the Treaty if the same can be done under the orders which you have received from France, and without waiting for the Replies to your last Dispatches

To remove therefore, all difficulties and to obviate all Misconceptions with respect to the intentions of the two Crowns in as far as the same respect the Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between His Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King signed at Versailles on the 3rd September, 1783 and the Peace subsequently concluded between His Britannic Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, we have the Honor to make the following Propositions to your Excellency for immediate Effect.

1st We propose that in conformity to the Instructions which you received by the French Frigate Precience from the Mareschal de Castries & which you have been pleased to state to the Presidency of Fort St George, you do immediately deliver up the Fort of Trincomale and its Dependencies to the Representatives of the Dutch Government of Columbo

2ndly. We propose that whatever Commissaries or Agents you may be pleased to appoint to deliver over Trincomale to the Dutch may be likewise considered as executing that Office on the Part of the British Nation, and we hereby declare them to be fully authorized for that purpose

3rdly That you deliver over the Fort, Town and Districts of Cuddalore to such Agents as the Right Hon'ble the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George shall depute to receive the same, and that you receive from them their formal cession of Pondicherry

If these Propositions should be acceptable to your Excellency, and you should agree to carry them into Effect, we request that you will send the necessary information thereof to the Right Hon'ble the President and Select Committee at Fort St George who are informed of them and directed in conformity to them, to depute Agents from that Presidency to receive the Fort, Town, and Districts of Cuddalore, and to make a formal cession of Pondicherry and the other Places and Districts which are by Treaty to be put into the possession of your Nation, and which are to be assigned over by the Nabob Walau Jah and the Rajah of Tanjore.

We have directed the President and Select Committee of Bombay to carry the Definitive Treaty into effect on the Western Coast on receiving advices from Fort

St. George that it has been accomplished on that of Coromandel, and we have the Honor to assure you that we on receiving similar advices shall not allow the least delay in making Restitutions that are to be made in these Provinces; Commissaries will of course be appointed on the part of the French Nation to receive them.

We have addressed the Governor General and Council of Batavia and the Governor and Council of Columbo with information of these propositions, and do ourselves the Honor to enclose copies of our letters for your Excellency's Perusal

The Propositions are so plain that we trust no question can arise in respect to their intent, since the only object is to remove by an abbreviated process the difficulties which have hitherto precluded the execution of the Treaties by dispensing with the unnecessary Form of your delivery of Trincomale to the Representatives of our Nation, for the sole purpose of enabling the latter to make the like cession, which ought to be done at the same instant of time, to the Representatives of the Dutch, a species of accuracy not only useless in itself, but obstructive of every substantial purpose of the Treaties concluded for the three National Establishments in India; but if any questions of doubt should occur, upon this subject we request that your Excellency's correspondence on such subjects may be immediately with this government.

Your Excellency will pardon us for observing that after so explicit a Declaration of our sentiments, and after so incontestible a demonstration of our readiness to carry into immediate execution, on the part of our Sovereign and Nation, as well as the English East India Company, the stipulations of the late Treaties of Peace, no Blame can be henceforward attributed to the English for any delay in completing the wishes and solemn arrangements of our respective sovereigns and Nations We wish to believe, indeed we are persuaded, that as you alone possess the means of carrying into instant effect this great and salutary work, no unnecessary delay will attend its complete accomplishment and we hope that you will be further pleased to transmit accounts of the final and happy accommodation of all embarrassments on this important subject by the earliest conveyance to Europe."

K. K. DATTA

A Study of Meyer's Trilogy of Hindu Vegetation Powers and Festivals

An extensive anthropological work of substantial importance bearing on Indian morals, manners and sentiments has been delivered by J. J. Meyer the indologist, whose translation of and studies in Kauṭalya and researches into the Hindu law-books and other topics are well known in the world of comparative politics and jurisprudence The present work is made up of three large monographs separately paged, but stitched together as one volume with a post-script and two indices, one for topics and persons and the other for Sanskrit words. The book comprises some 850 pages of Royal Octavo size.

The common title of this work is *Trilogie altindischer Machte und Feste der Vegetation* (Trilogy of Hindu Vegetation Powers and Festivals). In the sub-title the volume is described as a contribution to comparative religion and cuture-history as well as to the comparative study of festivals and folk-life.

Part I. is entitled *Kāma* and is given over to the old Indian god of love as the spirit of vegetation and his festival. The following topics are dealt with in this section Dying or killed and reappearing or resurrected spirits of vegetation, The nature of Kāma; The festival of Kāma in *Ratnāvalī*, The holy powder Bespattering with the syringe, The women's festival of Kāma in *Ratnāvalī* and Kāma as *aśoka* tree, Kāma as Artemisia plant (known in ancient Greece and Rome as women's friend), Kāma and mango blossoms, The holi lewdness and women; Lewdness in fertility festivals and on diverse occasions in other lands, The activities of the night of fasts in Europe· The origins of the fast night orgies, The efficacy of obscenities in the festivals of Kāma, The power of Phallus and obscene pictures and Christian Phallus-saints, Kāma, Spirit of tree, and Tree as giver of fertility and children, The holi tree as the spirit of vegetation, The magical power of ashes, coal and dust, Abuses and banter in festivals, especially those of fertility, Holi, the day of the death of vegetation deity; The death festival of Kāma among the Buddhists of Ceylon; Holikā, the witch killed and burnt in the *holi* festival, The legend of Holikā in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*, The festivals of Kāma and holi distinct from each other; The great swing-festival of the god of love, The chariot festival of the spring Sun; The festival of *Bhūtamātar* or Udakasevikā in *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa;* The Bhūtamātar in *Skanda Purāṇa,* The items of spring festival

(fire movements, fights, festivals, tree-climbing); Priority of women in fertility festival; Lamentations and complaints about Kāma in his festival; Holi and the souls of the dead; The *holi* is Aryan; Was the burnt up spirit of vegetation a male or a female and why it is a wild-growing plant? The spirit of vegetation rightly a tree; The cause of the blessing conferred by the bell.

The subject matter of Part II. is Bali. It deals with God Saturn's festival and that of all souls in India. The first source is *Bhavisyottara Purāṇa*. Among the texts may be mentioned the *Kārttikamāhātmya* sections of *Skanda Purāṇa* and *Padma Purāṇa*. The contents are as follows: The origin of the festivals of Bali, The different items of the festivals; Mustard oil bath in order to avoid Naraka and purification with the brandishing of a bundle of plants over the head. Offerings to Yama, king of the dead, Light for Naraka, The festival of lamps on the evening of the fourteenth day of Kārttika, The festivals of Śiva in Kārttika and the bull-offering; Lakṣmī as the goddess of corn, The territory of Bali; Purification of men on the evening of the new moon day, The King's midnight stroll through the city to see the festival, The expulsion of bad luck by women; The sport of luck at the light festival, The rôle of the prostitutes on the morning after the full-moon, Massaging the body with flour, Gifts from the king to the different classes of the subjects on the morning after the new moon, Animal fights, theatrical performances, dances, musical and song competition in the presence of the king, The erection of the *mārgapāli* on the high tree or a tree-like post and its blessings on the cattle and the people; The festival of the bulls, The tug of war in the pulling of a rope; The worship of Bali by the king; The worship of Bali by the ordinary people; Effects of this worship, Etymological explanation of the word *Kaumudī*, The time of the festival, Blessings conferred by the festival on the king and the country, The light for Yama and the second of Yama; Bhīṣma as the spirit of the dead and his five days, The worship of the *Pāpa-puruṣa* (Incarnation of Sin), The season of the light festival, King Bali; Bali and God Saturn.

The festival of Indra is the subject matter of Part III. Indra is described as the old Indian god of the spring Sun and fertility. There is an appendix devoted to Varuṇa as god of growth. The following topics are discussed; Indra in classical Sanskrit and today, The tree of Indra in the *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, *Devī Purāṇa*,

Bhavisyottara Purāṇa, and *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra;* A Jaina description; The journey to the forest, The origin of the festival; The materials for the Indra tree; The magical meaning of the bees; The worship of the tree and the spirits of the tree, The felling of the tree; The decoration of the Indra tree, The erection of the Indra tree, The double position of the god as Indra tree and Indra, The worship of the Indra tree and the joys of the festival; The height of the Indra tree, The daughters and mother of the Indra tree, The night festivals and the duties of the king and his councillors, The bringing down of the tree and its immersion, The date of the festival, Pongal, the South Indian festival of the Sun and Indra, The festival of Indra in *Harivaṃśa*, Pongal of the cattle connected with the festival of the Indra tree, Other festivals of the banner, The Indra tree as a Sun and vegetation tree, Indra as god of the Sun, especially the spring Sun in the *Rgveda*, Indra is not the god of storm and rain in Vedic literature, Indra as god of vegetation and fertility.

Investigations in social anthropology are as a rule based on a first hand study of the folk-life in villages, forests, mountains and river-valleys. This is the method of fieldwork. Meyer did not go out of his Swiss home into the nooks and corners of India or of any of the countries described in this book. His authorities are all printed texts. The fundamental basis is the Sanskrit encyclopædias, the *Purānas*, in so far as most of these researches are concerned. *Ṛg-Veda* comes in for the third monograph. Travellers' books about India or ethno-anthropological works dealing with the Indian festivals and customs in the field-method way of composition have been requisitioned by Meyer either to illustrate his Sanskrit originals or to supplement them wherever necessary. He has made it a point to furnish as full translations as possible of the chapters in the Sanskrit authorities dealing with the topic in question.

In the present writer's *Folk Element in Hindu Culture A Socio-religious Study in Hindu Folk-Institutions* (London 1917) the method adopted was just the reverse of Meyer's. There the field-study in connection with the April festivals (*Gambhīrā*) of Śiva in the villages of Malda, North Bengal furnished the foundation. This was supplemented by illustrations from and historical references to Bengali and Sanskrit texts. The result, however, is the same. We are led to the conclusion that the so-called culture-lore of India is over-whelmingly dominated by her folk-lore, nay, very often but a euphemism for her folk-lore. The folk-elements, again,

are profoundly materialistic and secular (as contrasted with metaphysical and other-worldly). Last but not least, the sex-elements constitute a most preponderant feature of the folk-*mores* and folk-institutions.

Meyer's work takes us farther. It brings us into contact with the folk-*mores* and folk-institutions of Asia, Europe, Africa and America. He may be said to have contributed another volume to Thurnwaldt's *Ethnosoziologie* The agricultural and sexual aspects of the folk-gods and folk-festivals have been proved by him to be too hemispheroidal, too elemental, too human to be described in terms of geographical regions or ethnographic races. Neither the climatic nor the geographical nor the racial "interpretation" of history or culture can call Meyer its own. The parallelisms, identities, analogies between East and West constitute some of the most substantial contributions of Meyer in this voluminous treatise. The result is a piece of research which is well calculated to cry halt to the pruderies and chauvinistic idiosyncracies of Eur-American scholars, who while dealing with Indian themes generally manage to forget, ignore or overlook the mass of superstitions, sex-*motifs* and phallic institutions governing their daily life. On the other hand, Meyer's work is of exceptional value to such Indian scholars, as owing to absence of intimate familiarity with the folk-life of Christian and pre-Christian Occident fail to find in Eur-America the duplicates of certain conventionally objectionable manners and customs of the Indian people and are easily tempted to discover something extraordinarily transcendental, esoteric and divine even in the most unspeakably earthly and muddy crudities of India For, Meyer discovers the "human, all-too human" here and there and everywhere. This *Trilogie* has turned out to be a study in the superstitions of all mankind organically connected as they are with Mother Earth, vegetation and fertility.

Tamuz and Ishtar of Babylonia, Isis and Osiris of Egypt, Adonis and Astarte (or (Aphrodite) of Syria, western Asia and Greece, Attis and Kybele of Phrygia are the male and female divinities respectively of the ancient world embodying as they do the human hunger for growth, fertility, procreation, rebirth and rejuvenation. In Indra Śiva, Varuṇa, Skanda, Kumāra, Bali and Kāma are to be seen but the Indian counterparts of the extra-Indian gods from Tamuz to Attis (Part I, pp. 2-4).

So far as the author is concerned, this book is declared by himself to be a small thanksgiving to Nature, the plant-world, the cultivators, and

the Mother Earth who constitutes the central topic of the study. He believes also that in the atmosphere of these investigations he can feel somewhat the spirit of the origins of agriculture and the soul of the people associated with it (III, p. 272).

The reasons are not far to seek. Meyer was farmer for many years of his life, and during this period a very large part was dominated by the ideas of the eleven *Upaniṣads* which he first studied at that time. The actual life of the peasant as lived by himself as well as intimate contact with the literature that had grown in that *milieu*, although in the East, combined to produce in him a sense of profound unison with the plant-world, with forests, with cultivated fields, with rows of maize and with the lights of flowers (II. 271).

This trilogy is for Meyer not therefore a merely anthropological or antiquarian study into the origins of folk-manners and folk-festivals. It is for him virtually a searching analysis of his deepest convictions, the examination, so to say, of his own religious sentiments in the widest sense. The data relate indeed to the three or rather four Hindu gods, Kāma, Bali, Indra and Varuna as well as their festivals And they are collected chiefly from the medieval and rather recent Sanskrit literature. The chapters on Indra are based, however, mainly on the *Ṛg-Veda*. But this indological material has led him away from India into far-off nooks and corners of the world And he is convinced that not only his own religion, but that every man's and every woman's religion are in the final and honest analysis profoundly rooted in the natural and agricultural rites and ceremonies—the peasant's hopes, fears, ambitions and anxieties, etc The farmer-complex, which lies in the pre-history or at the bottom of all culture-systems of antiquity and modern times of East and West, has furnished the *Leitmotif*, so he believes, of many of the folk-elements in the religious thoughts and practices of nations.

Meyer's *Trilogie* has dealt at length with the analogies or identities between India and Eur-America, old and new, a topic on which considerable attention was bestowed in several chapters of the present writer's ***Futurism of Young Asia*** (Berlin 1922). The Indian student of Western superstitions will find Meyer exceedingly helpful.

In India the cat is sacred to Mother Ṣaṣṭhī, the goddess of children. In Teutonic Germany the goddesses of fertility and children such as Freya, Frouwa, Berchta etc have the cat as their pet animal (I. 7).

While going out on a journey the Hindu considers meeting a public woman as a lucky thing. This folk-belief is prevalent in ancient Greece and Rome, as well as in Germany, England, Sweden and France. On the other hand, in India as in Europe an ascetic or a nun portends bad luck. The priest or the monk stands for the annihilation of fertility and is therefore shunned, says Meyer (I. 8-9).

The spring-festivals generally known in India as *holi* are associated with lewd manners. Parallels are to be found in the obscenities in the women's songs and dances of Egypt in connection with the worship of Isis, Immoralities of the ancient Roman festivals can also be referred to (I. 67). Whether the story is of India or of Africa, America and Europe Meyer objects to the use of the word, "obscene", in the conventional sense in the description of these manners and customs. In his judgment all these alleged obscenities are organic features of a religion which considers fertility, child-production and sex-act as the most sacred things of Nature and Man (I. 67-68).

In his analysis of analogies and parallelisms between East and West in regard to the alleged obscenities he differs from Hopkins who says that "no Western carnival at its worst is as frankly sensual as the spring festival of India". He accepts Wilson's statement as valid according to which the Christian Easter festivals are marked by "an indecency of which even the *holi* players are never guilty" (I 70). Meyer considers the nakednesses of women in Eve's costume on the occasion of the Christian festivals of Johannis and the shameless behaviour of the Greeks and Romans as much too unspeakable (I. 70-71).

The harvest festivals of Europe, especially of Germany, have been described by Meyer in illustration of his thesis that obscenities and phallic orgies belong to religion in the life of peasants used to the worship of agricultural divinities or saints. The use of pictures and figures of the male organ is referred to as a common phenomenon in Europe. Some of the obscene performances are associated with Churchyards, and persons dressed as priests are said to participate therein The court of Pope Alexander VI is infamous for sex-acts *en masse*. Thirty ladies and their lovers are seen painted in sex-act *en masse* under the eyes of the holy king Henry III. Meyer observes that in Classical Greece and Rome as in India or old Germany and Christian Europe most of the festivals and ceremonies in which the "conventional" morality is violated are directly or indirectly reli-

gious in nature and origin. But in many of the medieval and modern obscenities of European social life there is hardly any excuse from the religious side (I. 74).

There is a sixteenth century work in Latin, *Regnum Papisticum*, by Thomas Naogeorgus. It describes among other things the superstitions and activities of the Catholics in connection with the festivals of the year. The orgies of the carnival have demanded the author's special attention. Some of the participants run about in the streets naked (*ein-Teil von ihnen läuft nackt umher*), their faces alone being covered with masks. The men are dressed like women, and the women, specially young girls, like men. Many of them ramble about clothed as monks, some like kings, and others as quadrupeds, as bears, wolves, lions storks, monkeys and what not. They carry manure, both animal and human (*frischen Menschen Koht*) into market place, attended by somebody who drives the flies away with a fly-brush Lascivious songs and dances belong to this and other festivities. Wagons of ordure and night soil accompany these processions (I. 77-78)

The male organ was made into a saint For instance, in a carnival procession in the kingdom of Naples a wooden statue used to be carried which was prominent because of this item. It was called *Santo Membro* (the holy limb or organ). Dulaire's *Divinités génératices* furnishes numerous examples of the phallic figures in Catholic life. Saints Kosmas and Damianus in Osternia, the Child Jesus between Mons and Brussels, St. Foutin etc. are known for their phallic representations Meyer finds the erotic representations in some of the temples of Hindu India as but spiritually linked up with the sexual representations and symbolisms of Christian art (I 93-95).

The Hindu custom of offering beans and pulses to ancestors on the occasion of the *śrāddha* ceremony is calculated to pacify the hungry manes. Meyer observes that India is not *sui generis* in this regard The Greeks, Romans and Iranians as well as the Germans are used to the same custom. In the German communities of the Valsugana Valley in North Italy cooked beans on wooden places were offered to the graves of the relatives or friends on the day of All Souls. They were kept there for several hours and then distributed among the poor (II, 42)

Cow-dung and dirt play no insignificant part in Indian folk-religion. From the European side Meyer quotes popular beliefs from English farmers about the efficacy of such blissful dirt (II. 50).

The visit of Lakṣmī, the goddess of luck, to the families about midnight on the new moon day in September-October belongs to one of the folk-beliefs of the Hindus. According to Meyer we read of such visits in the legends of countries from India to North Germany (Mucukunda, Nerthus, spring sojourn of Freyer, Emperor Charles etc.). In many places of Hungary a lamp is kept lighted the whole night on Christmas eve in order that Mother Mary can come and bring luck (II, 87) The driving away of evil by women while winnowing the corn has a place in the folk religions of many countries old and new, in East and West (II, 140-141).

In India cultivators are forbidden to plough the ground on the 15th of *Āśvina* and the 15th of *Kārttika* (about the 30th of September and October) as these days are consecrated to the ancestors. In Germany, says Meyer, on the day of All Souls corn is not to be sown (II, 236) The harvest festivals and the festivals of the manes are thus intimately mixed up in India as in Germany. The German dates are September 29 (Michaelis Day) and November 11 (Martin Day). On the evening of St. Martin's Day, thousands of little lamps are lighted on the mountains and high lands on both banks of the Rhine between Cologne and Coblenz The Siebengebirge becomes especially prominent on account of the numerous lights and fire-festivals St. Martin is the protector of cattle, shepherds, corn fruits, wine etc.

An important item in the festival of Indra is the procession or march into the forest in order to select and fell the tree In this connection Meyer draws our attention to the several sun and growth festivals of Europe The tree that is used on these occasions is generally known as the May pole The carrying away of the May tree from the woods is an exciting ceremony or incident with the young people. We are told that young girls who join the crowds on such May festivities in Europe go out as virgins but do not come back as such (III, 62).

Among the many trees forbidden for the purpose of the Indra festival is the one on which bees have sat or made their hives. The magical evils associates with bees, for instance, in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (43, 63, 59. 3, 79, 3, 95, 58) have their analogies in European and specially German mentality. The *Handworterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Dictionary of German Superstition) is quoted by Meyer to show that according to German folk-belief a beehive hanging on a tree belonging to one's own lands is an evil omen, on a garden-tree brings death in the family, and on a house is likely to cause an outbreak of fire. The appearance of bees in soldiers' camps por-

tends defeat as known from their association with Drusus in ancient Rome and Count Leopold of Austria. To dream of bees is to court death or disaster.

The association of bees with death and funeral ceremonies is one of the folk-elements in primitive Indo-German culture (III, 78) Another aspect of bees is their association with fertility, pregnancy and so forth In ancient Greece the bee is the symbol of Artemis, the spirit of fertility. The priests of Artemis as well as those of Demeter, the spirit of corn, are called bees. The bees are protected in Greek mythology by Pan and Priapus, the spirits of fertility. In German folk-belief, if a woman eats a bee, she will become pregnant.

According to Meyer the rôle of bees as ancestors is not so prominent in the folk-elements of Indian culture as in those of German But in India the conception of bees as portents is very powerful (III, 82). The friendly aspects of bees were unknown in India, Greece and Rome because in all these countries the bees remained always wild There was no "bee-culture" as in Germany. The bees as animals of forests were feared and their approach to human habitations dreaded as omens The trees on which they sat were therefore declared unfit for use in regard to the construction not only of the Indra tree but also of statues for gods, stools, bed-steads, temples, and houses

In Germany the felling of the tree on similar occasions is attended with awe and respect Pardon is asked for In certain cantons of Switzerland a cross is engraved on the tree previous to the laying of the wood-cutter's axe (III, 89)

Trees similar to that of Indra are known in East and West, especially in Germanic countries including England. Nowhere are those trees associated with rain. The most universal feature is that of the sun and fertility spirits. Like its cognates in other countries the "Indra banner" represents the spirit of vegetation. It is phallic (III, 134, 154, 163-166, 186-190). Meyer is strong on the point that Indra is not originally a rain and thunder god in the *Ṛg-Veda* but a fertility god. Indra's rôle as rain-god appeared in subsequent developments.

One of the longest chapters in this work is the one on Indra as phallic god, the god of vegetation and fertility Some forty pages are given over to the words, phrases and *ṛks* of the *Ṛg-Veda* to illustrate the phallic elements in the Indra complex. The following equations are established · (1) Indra

= male organ, (2) *soma* = *kāmasalila*, (3) pressing of *soma* juice = sex-act (III, 180, 187-188). Some of the references are as follows. *Ṛg-Veda*. VI, 46, 3; I. 129, 3; IX, 74. 5; II, 15. 7; IV, 30, 16; 19, 9; X, 10, 7, I, 104, 8; VIII, 40, 11; X, 162; VIII, 80 (91); I, 136, 3; X, 85, 40; X, 101, 12; X, 94, 5; 101, 3, I, 28, 3.

Incidentally, Meyer brings out that neither the Vedic poets nor the compilers of their poetry had much interest in the "folk" and "folk-elements." For instance, agriculture as a profession is very much neglected in Vedic poetry, although its importance (X, 117, 7) is not unknown. The Vedic poets are interested more in the cattle-wealth, in horses. It is not the gifts of land that they care for like the Brāhmaṇs of later times. The *milieu* of Vedic thought is not that of the entire people but of a class. It is the class of "cattle-magnates" that furnishes the inspiration of the Vedic poets. The poetry of the *Vedas* is a class-poetry, the poetry of the *Viehbarone* (cattle-barons) and their satellites. The Vedic gods are likewise class-gods. They are partial in the distribution of their favours. Just as Homer does not furnish a real picture of the folk-religion of the Greeks, so also does the *Ṛg-Veda* fail to indicate the real folk-religion of the India of those days Vedic religion is the religion of a class, although no doubt developed out of the folk-religion (III, 189-190).

The appendix of Part III is devoted to Varuṇa. This, the grandest and the most splendid God of the Vedas, is described as being originally a phallic god (III, 201). The association of the tortoise with Varuṇa (III, 226-230) furnishes some hints in this regard The association of the horse (III, 236-250) with Varuṇa is another strong indication. The story of the horse *vis-à-vis* the queen in the horse-sacrifice (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIII. 4, 1, 8) establishes the phallic character of Varuna in an equally powerful manner. According to Meyer the horse-sacrifice is a fertility festival (III, 246).

Spiritual life is essentially the life of anxiety and fear and the life of sexual urge, says Meyer. In the depths of conduct as exhibited by primitive man are to be found these two "drives", to use an expression from the Italian sociologist, Pareto. The Bible is quoted by Meyer to indicate that man becomes enslaved for life on account of fear and that this fear of primitive man is at bottom mostly the fear from death that follows him in the manner of evil spirits or magical powers. Then there is another fear that overpowers the peasants. They are perpetually liable to the suspicion that the Earth and the other vegetation powers may fail or may not wish to

furnish them with the desired gifts of the soil. The power that serves to remove the anxieties or fears of the primitive people is the mighty sex-urge, the "wonder of their body". In the view of the primitives every "becoming" in the growth of culture is not only similar to but identical with the sex-act of human beings. Man, therefore, has but to consecrate himself to this act in definite seasons. The powers of Nature are strengthened on account of his sex-act and contribute what he wishes from her. In primitive mentality, then, orgies and religion are very often one and the same Through lascivious dances, wild drinking, sex-enjoyments etc. people even of higher culture-systems often believe that they rise up to divinity. So far as the wild races are concerned, orgies and intoxications, lewd merrymakings and so forth belong as a rule to all their festivals, especially to those bearing on vegetation (III, 273).

Primitive man fears that Nature may become so weak that there may not be a reawakening, that once the plants die there may not be rebirth. The powers of Nature must not die or must not become weak, the growth of plants must go on for ever,—this is the wish or prayer that is at the bottom of all sorrows regarding dying or dead gods as well as all joys bearing on their revival, reappearance and rebirth. The harvest festivals of the most diverse races of mankind embody those fears and hopes, griefs and happinesses of the human soul (I, 1-2).

There are no monistic obsessions, be it observed finally, in Meyer's interpretations He harps naturally on agriculture and sex, and sex and agriculture from beginning to end But he has left room for other forces and drives. Frazer's *Golden Bough* is certainly one of his favourite authors. And he has dedicated his work to the German scholar, Mannhardt, whom he describes as the pioneer Mannhardt is the author of ***Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarvolker*** (The Tree Cult of the Germans and their Neighbouring Peoples). But he is careful enough to point out that the attempt to interpret all the incidents in the myths, festivals and customs according to a single formula, standpoint or origin is defective. For instance, he is prepared to see solar rites and solar magic in some of the growth and fire festivals (I, 5). In other words, even as an agricultural interpreter he is not a determinist of the Marxian school. Nor in his sexual interpretations can he be classed with the Freudians.

The different chapters of this bulky *Trilogie* have proven incidentally that one may depend exclusively on Sanskrit books in order to get an in-

tensive and detailed idea of even the most commonplace, popular and vulgar manners, customs, rites, ceremonies, festivals, sports and merrymakings of the diverse classes of the people. Treatises in Sanskrit language appear to us therefore in a new guise. Many of them are essentially earthly, secular, materialistic and positive. There is hardly any item of folk life and worldly human interests, individual or collective, that has not been sedulously described by the Hindu authors in the "language of their gods," Sanskrit. And in this regard Sanskrit is not less profane than the spoken languages of the peoples, the so-called vernaculars. Those scholars who had been used to look upon Sanskrit as essentially the medium of metaphysics, philosophy, religion, theology, *belles lettres* etc. would be agreeably surprised to find that from the *Ṛgveda* to the latest *Upa-Purāṇa* of the eighteenth century it is at the same time anthropology, anthropology all the way Like the other works of Meyer's this one also will serve to establish Hindu culture in its institutions and ideals on the positive basis.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

REVIEWS

MAGADHA ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURE by Sris Chandra Chatterjee. Published by the University of Calcutta, pp xxv + 112 and 30 plates. Calcutta, 1942.

The real value of this monograph will not be appreciated by one who will expect to find in it marshalling of facts gleaned from old texts, as the object of the author is not 'research' as we understand it but to reconstruct out of the available remnants what could possibly be the ideal of the Magadhan architects, the ideal of life and culture of the people of pre-Christian days, and the aesthetic ideal of the Magadhan artists. Enough researches have been made to collect the historical and geographical details of Gayā or Rājagṛha or Pātaliputra, but these do not help us to visualize the splendour of the ancient cities. Mr. Chatterji has rendered a distinct service to Indian scholarship by conjuring up before our eyes the splendour of ancient Rājagṛha of Jarāsandha, Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, Pāṭaliputra of Aśoka and Chandragupta, and Nālandā of the Pālas. It may be that at times, he has been carried away by his enthusiasm but that does not lessen the merit of the book from the point of view of an artist and architect. He has gone into details about the outer ramparts of a city, its gateways, and its possible divisions into different quarters for the residence of different classes of people. Some of the findings of the author may not however be accepted by the astute researchers, in whom there is no scope for such imagination.

The underlying object of the author is to show that in India, the line of development of thought, art, and architecture has a continuous history from the time of the Indus Valley civilization up to the present day, though there have been occasional deviations through foreign influence. It cannot be denied that Indian art was temporarily influenced by Greek but only to revert to its former trend. He adds that Indian art on the other hand influenced the Eastern Asian Art to a large extent, and the monuments of China and Java still bear that testimony. He would not distinguish any period of Indian thought, art, and architecture as Vedic, Buddhist, or Brāhmanic. Throughout the long history of Indian art and architecture is perceptible, says he, the contemplative vision and study of the grace and beauty of Nature's forms. The Vedic physiolators loved Nature, and had a fancy for the forests, and this led to Buddha's message of art and peace. The evolution of Indian civilization and architectural arts was undoubtedly in-

fluenced by Buddha, but it was ultimately modified by Brāhmanic thought and religion revived during the Gupta period. This period, he says, witnessed also the culmination of artistic and cultural development of India. In the patronage of art, the Pāla rulers were no less enthusiastic, and it was through their patronage that the Buddhist seats of learning flourished so gloriously. We wish that the author had included in his monograph the details of the construction of Stūpas and monasteries given in the Vinaya texts and the Ceylonese chronicles.

The author states that art and architecture embody devotion and sacrifice and are the principal media of worship of God and Nature. These cannot grow in commercialism and industrialism, which destroy the inner spirit of man. Indian architecture is now influenced by the Western spirit of industrialism, in which the inner spirit of India has no place. He is struggling his level best to resuscitate this inner spirit by infusing into the minds of our hopefuls the love for ancient forms of architecture, and the practicability of their application to the present-day buildings and monuments His continual hammering on this has, in fact, roused the imagination of a cultured few, but as yet he has not been able to form a band of scholarly artists and architects to take up his mission to revive once more the spirit of India in her art and architecture. We hope this monograph will have its desired effect and will enthuse our post-war-planners to give some attention to Mr. Chatterji's scheme, which is a well thoughtout one, and deserves careful consideration

N. Dutt

DHAMMA-SAṄGAṆI by Dr. P. V Bapat, M A., PH.D. and R. D Vadekar, M.A , Fergusson College, Poona 1940, Pp. xvi + 360.

AṬṬHASĀLINĪ by Dr. P V Bapat, M A , PH D and R D Vadekar, M A , Fergusson College, Poona, 1942 pp xl + 404

Students of Pāli literature have reasons to be grateful to Profs Bapat and Vadekar for the excellent edition of the recondite Abhidhamma text —the *Dhamma-Sangaṇi*, and its equally abstruse commentary,—the *Atthasālinī* It is an extremely arduous task, and the editors, we may say, have well acquitted themselves of their self-imposed self-sacrificing responsibility. As early as 1885 and 1897, these two works were published by the Pāli Text Society in Roman characters. In those days, very little progress was made in researches regarding Pāli Buddhism, and hardly any clear idea was formed of the fundamental principles of Buddhism, not to speak of the psychological

analyses embedded in the Abhidharma texts, and hence, the editions could not be brought up to the mark. Shwe Zan Aung, Maung Tin, and Mrs. Rhys Davids broke the ground of Pāli Abhidhamma Studies, while Rosenberg, Stcherbatsky, La Vallée Poussin, Rahula Sankrtyayana and Bhikkhu Govinda developed the same by their studies of the Abhidharmakośa and its Vyākhyā, which traverse almost the same field as that of the Pāli texts. The Pāli students could have made much more contribution to Abhidhamma studies if the P.T.S. edition had been more thorough containing proper indications of divisions and paras, and "peyyalas" The present editors had the advantage of having before them the results of researches for the last three or four decades and utilised them fully in their editions. The ancient Buddhist writers were fond of numerical divisions, use of a number of synonyms to express an idea, and harping on a particular theme repeatedly They adopted a uniform method of giving an exposition of a particular *dhamma*. The task of a student becomes much easier if he can have before his eyes the divisions well marked out typographically with spaces, bold and light letters besides correct punctuations and divisions of paragraphs In this respect, the present edition far excels that of the P T S., and has really lightened the task of a student who can now give more attention to the subject-matter.

The Atthasālinī appears more to be an independent work than a commentary on the Dhammasangani, and actually it does contain many valuable discourses which are not found in the Dhammasangani The present editors by pointing out how far it comments on the original text and what are its new contributions have brought out the real value of the work

There is a learned Introduction in English to both the works. In the Introduction to the Dhammasangani, the general scheme of classification is explained while in the Introduction to the Aṭṭhasālinī, not only the scheme of division but also the subject-matter of each division, and its style and method of comment are fully explained About the authorship of Atthasālinī the editors have pointed out many interesting facts, directed towards counteracting the belief that the famous Buddhaghosa was the author of the commentary The works are priced cheap and are within the easy reach of our students, and we hope this self-sacrificing effort of the editors will have the desired effect of propagating Abhidhamma studies among the students.

N. DUTT

PROGRESS OF GREATER INDIAN RESEARCH (1917-42) by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M A., Ph.D. Published by the Greater India Society, Calcutta 1943. pp. viii + 114 + viii.

The object of the work under review is evidently to create interest among our students in the study of Indian culture in countries outside India. The author, who is also the Secretary of the Greater India Society—the only society of its kind existing in India—has admirably acquitted himself of a stupendous task viz., to present within a small compass the progress of researches made during recent years in the field of the propagation of Indian culture in Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Java, Bali, Celebes, Sumatra, Malay and Ceylon. The list of names of countries is awe-inspiring and besides the extensiveness of the scope, one has to take into consideration the fact that the results of researches are mostly written in French, Dutch and German, which have all been laid under contribution by our author. The light focussed on any particular country though limited in scope is illuminating and does serve all its purpose of attracting attention of earnest students to this field of studies. It does really rouse the curiosity of one to know more about the subject and one feels disappointed that the author has not given more details. He has furnished us with a very interesting story as to how the several European nations took interest in the studies and vied with one another in the collection of finds. Mr. P. K. Mukherji of Santiniketan acquainted us with the Indian literature abroad whereas Dr Ghoshal has brought before our eyes not only Indian literature, but also Indian art and sculpture abroad. The Additions Appendices and Index are very useful and we hope full advantage will be taken of the same by the future researchers in this field.

N. DUTT

JAINISM AND KARNĀTAKA CULTURE by S R Sharma, M.A., Dharwar, 1940 pp Demy 8 vo. xix + 213.

The volume under review is first in the series started to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. No better subject than the history of Karnāṭaka culture in its relation to Jainism which had a very profound influence on it, could be selected for this first work. But not only the theme but its treatment also has been eminently

suitable to the beginning of this commemorating series. The historical survey which constitutes the first section of the work attempts to assess on the basis of epigraphic and other similar materials the magnitude of influence Jainism exerted over rulers and people of Karnātaka, and in this connection the author utilized data not hitherto used by other scholars. In the second section the author has made an attempt to determine the exact amount of influence Jainism had on such important aspects of the culture of Karṇātaka as her literature, art and architecture. In the third section, has been treated the very interesting history of the transformation of Jainism—a faith of northern origin, in its southern career in Karnātaka. Students of religious history will find here that like all other human institutions everything connected with religious sects also is subject to decay or development and Jainism has been no exception to the rule

We have read this volume with great interest and profit The author's presentation of facts is lucid and conclusions mostly dependable Though it may be possible to differ with minor details it seems he has treated his subject with considerable succeess. We may hope that he will further enrich our knowledge of the culture of Karnātaka by writing on the relation of Vaisnavism and similar other religious sects with the same

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

A GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE based mainly on Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* by Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A , Ph.D published by the University of Calcutta. 1943. Pp 120.

The present work is primarily meant for the beginners of epigraphic Prakrit which sometimes vary from, the Pkt. of literary records With this end in view the author gives here the *sūtras* of Vararuci (as read by Cowell in his excellent edition) together with an English translation and notes at the end of each chapter as well as examples wherever procurable from Pāli and epigraphic records. Another feature of his notes is that in them he has given additional views of a later grammarian like Hemacandra whenever he differed from Vararuci in his description of Pkt. dialects. In his translation the author has followed Bhāmaha the commentator of Vararuci as well as Kātyāyana, the author of the *Prākṛtamañjarī* which is supposed to have been based on Vararuci's *sūtras*. Besides this in the appendix to the work the author has given *sūtras* of Puruṣottamadeva on certain features of different

Pkt. dialects such as Śaurasenī, Māgadhī etc. not noticed by Vararuci. On various Apabhraṃśas, views of both Hemacandra and Puruṣottama have been included. All this makes the present work a very suitable handbook for those students of epigraphic Pkt. who will study the language in the traditional Indian method. Quotations of examples in this work from Pkt inscriptions to show to what extent it varies from the Pkt. of the grammarians, will be of great interest to the scientific students of Middle Indo-Aryan They will greatly help to clarify our views on the geographical affinity of various Pkt dialects and may be of some assistance for the study of modern Indo-Aryan diaelcts too The author is to be congratulated for the production of this useful work.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

OUDH AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1785-1801), by Purnendu Basu, M.A., Ph D., Maxwell Company Lucknow 1943

The history of Oudh constitutes one of the most important chapters of Indian history in the 16th century. It became a practically autonomous state after the death of Aurangzib, and the first three Nawabs of this *subah* played a decisive part in the gradual decline of the Mughal empire The Maratha empire-builders found a strong and crafty enemy in Shujā-ud-daulā After the acquisition of Bengal and Bihar the East India Company began to take serious interest in Oudh 'first as a strong buffer between its dominions and the Mahrattas, and later as a fruitful source of income at a time when the financial position of the Company was far from comfortable.' This 'interest' proved a bane for the smiling province, administrative dislocation, economic misery, and moral degeneration culminated in the extinction of the Nawabi in the days of Dalhousie

In recent years some competent scholars have devoted themselves to the reconstruction of the history of modern Oudh Dr. A. L. Srivastava's *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh* and *Shuja-uddaula* cover the pre-British period Dr. C. Collin Davies of Oxford has dealt with the early portion of the British period in his *Warren Hastings and Oudh*. The work under review picks up the thread where Dr. Davies leaves it and carries the narrative down to 1810, when practically half of Oudh was ceded to the Company by Sa'adat Ali almost at the point of the bayonet.,

Dr. Basu has given us a thoroughly competent survey of an important period of Indian history. His chapters on "Asafuddaula and his Durbar," "Degeneration of the Army," "Bankruptcy of Oudh," "Commercial Relations between Oudh and the Company," and 'General Administration" reveal his clear grasp of the internal problems which were partly due to the anomalous position of Oudh, and partly created by the Nawabs. But Dr Basu has not forgotten to locate Oudh in the general scheme of Indian history. His chapters on "Oudh and its neighbours" and "Sa'adat Ali and Wellesley" explain the background of British policy towards Oudh: the desire of the British rulers of Bengal to utilise Oudh as a barrier against the Marathas. His work is a commendable combination of local history with general history.

Dr. Basu claims that he has made use of "all material sources, both published and unpublished" His work is primarily based on the India Office and British Museum records, but he has utilised some contemporary Persian chronicles as well The library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal contains some Persian manuscripts which throw a flood of light on Wellesley's policy towards Oudh We may refer to *Imādus Sa'adat* and *Madan-us-Sa'adat* Dr Basu does not seem to have consulted these books. They may not give us new information, but they may present the known facts from a new angle of vision Dr. Basu's Bibliography is a mere catalogue of names, he might have added some critical notes regarding the Persian chronicles used by him

A. C Banerjee

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. VIII, *Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs, 1794 1799* Edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Bombay Government Central Press, 1943.

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. IX, *Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs, 1800-1803* Edited by Dr. Raghubir Sinh, M.A., D.Litt Bombay Government Central Press, 1943.

All serious students of modern Indian history must remain grateful to Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G S. Sardesai for the publication of the Poona Residency records, an invaluable mine of historical information relating to the period *c.* 1785-1828. Volumes VIII-IX published a few months ago, deal with Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian affairs, 1794-

1803. In his illuminating *Introduction* to Vol. VIII Sir Jadunath brings out clearly the difficult problems which arose in Northern India after Mahadji Sindhia's death, and explains the reactions of events in Southern India upon the fortunes of the Marathas in Hindustan. His justification of the policy of Non-intervention pursued by Sir John Shore in the rivalry between the Marathas and the Nizam will be read with great interest. Dr. Raghubir Sinh's *Introduction* to vol. IX is exhaustive and useful. His exposition of the weaknesses of Sindhia's power provides a key to many political and diplomatic puzzles of the period. Sir Jadunath advises the reader of these two volumes to "have at his elbow the Poona despatches of Mallet, Palmer and Close (vols. II, VI and VII) if he is to understand the inner spring of many an action even as regards Hindustan." It is expected that some competent scholar will now come forward to write a complete and authentic history of the Marathas during the period of their decline on the basis of the Poona Residency Correspondence and the unpublished records preserved in the Imperial Record Department.

A. C BANERJEE

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANDHRA COUNTRY, by Dr K. Gopalachari, M.A., Ph.D , University of Madras, 1941. Pp. 226.

Dr. Gopalachari has made a successful attempt to present a connected history of the Āndhras and the Āndhra country from the earliest times to the advent of the Eastern Cālukyas. Chapters II-IV deal with the political history of the Sātavāhanas, and traverse a field covered long ago by eminent scholars like Sir R. G Bhandarkar, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, and Prof Rapson. The author has, however, made an independent study of inscriptions and monuments *in situ*, as a result of which he has found himself compelled to challenge some accepted conclusions on the history of the Sātavāhanas. For instance, he rejects Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's theory (recently revived by Dr. D R. Bhandarkar) of the conjoint rule of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi, and shows good grounds for questioning Rapson's identification of Puḷumāvi with the son-in-law of Rudradāman. He argues that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras but began their political career in Western Deccan, and criticises Dr. Sukthankar's theory that the Bellary region was the original home of the family. He also challenges Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's view that the name Āndhra "probably came to be

applied to the (Sātavāhana) Kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became purely an Andhra power governing the territory at the mouth of the river Krishna." In his opinion Sātavāhana rule over the Āndhra country lasted for three quarters of a century: the Sātavāhanas became a purely eastern power only a few decades before their fall. These conclusions may not be acceptable to all scholars interested in South Indian history, but the author is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has sifted the evidence and criticised the views which have so long received general recognition. His chapters dealing with the administrative system of the Sātavāhanas (Chap. V) and the social, economic, and religious conditions in the Sātavāhana Kingdom (Chap. VI) throw fresh light on an obscure but interesting subject.

In recent times Dr. D C. Sircar made the first systematic attempt to deal with the genealogy and chronology of the minor dynasties which ruled in Eastern Deccan after the decline and fall of the Sātavāhanas Dr Gopalachari tells us in his Preface that his book was being written when Dr Sircar's monograph was published He recognises his debt to Dr. Sircar for the Visnukundin genealogy, but adds that he has modified Dr. Sircar's conclusions with the help of palaeography Five chapters (VII-XI) are devoted to the minor dynasties the Iksvākus, the rulers of the Brhatphalāyana *gotra*, the Vaingeyakas, the Kandaras and the Visnukundins. The available data on these dynasties are so unsatisfactory that it is hardly possible for any scholar to claim finality for conclusions based on them, but we must be grateful to pioneers like Dr Sircar and Dr Gopalachari who venture into the hitherto untrodden field.

The book contains an excellent map of the Sātavāhana dominions and some beautifully executed plates.

A C BANERJEE

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of Oriental Research, vol. VI, part 2

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Poetic Beauty.* The purpose of the paper is to show that according to the prominent Sanskrit writers, art constitutes the essential elements in poetry, and that love of beauty manifests itself in every phase of Hindu civilisation.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Uḍāli's Commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa.* Citations from Uḍāli has been quoted in a work of the 13th century, he cannot be is now surmised that Uḍāli is the family designation of Varadarāja, mss. of whose commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa* are still available. As Uḍāli had been quoted in a work of the 13th century, he cannot be posterior to that date. He is, therefore, the earliest known commentator of the *Rāmāyana*

Brahmavidyā (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. VII, pt. 4 (December, 1943)

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*The Sarvānukramaṇī-padyavivṛtti* The paper contains an account of a metrical version of Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramanī*, elaborated at places by the unknown author of the version

Serial Publications:

विष्णुस्मृतिविवृतिः वैजयन्ती of Nanda Pandita.
Nyāyakasumāñjali—English Translation.
जीवानन्दनम् (Drama) of Ānandarāyamakhin.
Tripādvibhūtimahānārāyanopanisad—English Translation
सटीकं होराशास्त्रम् of Varāhamihira
आर्यशालिस्तम्बसूत्रम् of Rajanāthaḍiṇḍima.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA —*Padārtharatnamañjūsā of Krsnadeva* The ms. of the work described here consists of 317 verses dealing with the Vaiśesika categories.

H. G. NARAHARI —*A Rare Commentary on the Raghuvaṃśa* This is a brief account of the *Raghuvaṃśa-ṭīkā* of Śrīnātha who explains in his commentary certain texts of the *Raghuvaṃśa* not found in its well-known editions.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. XI, pt. 1

H. N. RANDLE —*An Indo-Aryan Language of South India. Saurāṣṭra-bhāṣā.* The language described here is known as Pantūlī and is spoken

by a large number of people engaged in the textile industry of Madras. These people are said to have migrated from Lāṭa or Surāṣṭra. The language which they brought, perhaps in the 5th century, from their original home seems to have come successively under the influence "of Rajasthan forms of speech, and then of Marathi, Telugu and Tamil."

T. BURROW.—*Dravidian Studies III: Two Developments of Indian K—in Dravidian*

L. D. BURNETT.—*A Note on an Early Indian Coin.* A coin discovered at Lauria Nandangarh in the district of Champaran bears a legend of Brāhmī script of about the 1st century B.C. *aya ritasa* This Ārya (Honourable) Ṛta is conjectured to have been 'a minor king or tribal chieftain of Videha', bearing a name that probably came from a Purāṇic dynasty of Videha.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, vol. XXIX, pt. III, (September, 1943)

P C MANUK.—*The Patna School of Painting (19th century).*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol XIX, 1943

H D. VELANKAR —*Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra* The last four and a half chapters of Hemacandra's *Chandonuśāsana* dealing with Prākrta metres have been critically edited with Ṭippana (commentary).

P. V KANE —*Uddyota on Vyavahāra* Niravadyavidyoddyota (Uddyota of spotless learning) mentioned in the *Dāyabhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana is perhaps identical with Uddyotana quoted in the *Vyavahāranirṇaya* The respectful manner of referring to his name makes it probable that Uddyota was a great writer on Vyavahāra.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, vol. I, pt. 1 (November, 1943).

R. SHAMA SASTRY —*Kalpa or World-Cycle.* The conclusion reached in the paper is that 'Kalpa in its origin meant an eclipse-cycle of nearly 19 years and not a period of 1,000 divine *yugas* of 4,320,000 years, as believed by Skandasvāmin (commentator of the *Rgveda*) and the authors of the astronomical *Siddhāntas*'

S. K. BELVALKAR —*A fake (?) "Bhagavadgītā" Ms.* Though a statement in the *Gītāpraśasti* of the *Mahābhārata* makes the *Bhagavadgītā* a poem

of 745 stanzas, the number of stanzas found in the current editions of the work is only 700. Pandit Kalidas Sastri of Gondal has recently published a "*Bhojapatri*" *Gītā* 'from an old ms' answering to the recorded description of its contents, viz 745 stanzas Arguments have been put forward in this paper to show that the 'old ms.' cannot be genuine.

S. N. SEN.—*Two Sanskrit Memoranda of 1787*. When Warren Hastings was being impeached in England for his alleged misdemeanours in India, many of his Indian admirers came forward with their testimonials about the good works of the ex-Governor-General Two such testimonials issued from Benares were written in Sanskrit, one with 178 signatories belonging to the provinces of Gujarat and Mahārāstra, and the other signed by 112 persons belonging mainly to Bengal These memoranda show that Sanskrit served as a sort of *lingua franca* for the Indians even in the 18th century

M. HIRIANNA.—*Bhāskara's View of Error* Bhāskara flourishing in the 9th century commented upon the *Vedāntasūtra* as an exponent of the *Bhedābhedavāda*, which holds that the relation between *Brahman* and *Jīva* or the physical world is one of 'identity in difference'. *Jīva's* bondage is caused by ignorance about his own true character. *Jīva's* error does not lie in his 'sense of relationship with adjuncts like the body and the internal organ' which is conceived by Bhāskara as actual. *Jīva* however errs by taking that relationship as 'essential (svābhāvika) while it is only adventitious (aupādhika)' *Jīva's* perception therefore cannot be called altogether unreal His delusion consists in his taking 'what is provisional for what is permanent' Bhāskara admits error, but 'still maintains that it invariably points to a real object, though that object may be false when viewed from a particular standpoint'

S K DE.—*The Campū* The Campū is a type of Sanskrit composition in mixed verse and prose The peculiar character of this variety of narrative literature is discussed in the paper and the general contents of the available works of the variety are described.

B. BHATTACHARYA.—*The Location of Uddīyāna* Uddīyāna, the traditional home of Tantric Buddhism has been identified in the paper with the village of Vajrayoginī near Sabhar (Tibetan Zāhore) in the district of Dacca in East Bengal.

S. M. ZAMIN ALI.—*Urdu Marsiya (from earliest time up to 1840 A.D)*.

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Aśokan Notes* (i) The import of a sentence in the first Minor Rock Edict containing the word *vivutha* is discussed. (ii) The belief that Aśoka was a monk and monarch at the same time is contradicted Aśoka might have however turned monk after he had renounced the throne towards the close of his life (iii) It is argued that the story relating to Kunāla and his step-mother Tisyaraksitā has no historical foundation (iv) It is pointed out that the Second Rock Edict contains a reference to religious missions sent by Aśoka to foreign lands up to Tambapani (Ceylon) The story of the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon by Aśoka's son and daughter, as given in Ceylonese chronicles, should not therefore be distrusted.

S. M. KATRE —*Dharmopanisad in Mahābhārata* The expression *dharmopanisad* contained in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata points to the application of secret knowledge (upanisad) for the performance of duties in time of difficulty (āpaddharma).

K. RAMA PISHAROTI —*Vikramorvaśīya—A Study.*

Journal of Indian History, vol XXII, pts 2 & 3
(August and December, 1943)

A C PERUMALIL — *The Apostles of Kalyana (Bombay) St Bartholomew the Apostle and St Pantaenus* Bartholomew came to the Kalyana coast of India about 55 A C. for preaching Christianity and was martyred a few years after by the order of king Aristakarman of Paithan, whose brother Pulumai had become a convert to Christianity About the year 190 A C Pantaenus was sent to Kalyana where he worked for the benefit of the converted Christians and strengthened their faith in the adopted belief

DASARATHA SARMA —*The Imperial Pratihāras—A Revised Study*

P. SRINIVASACHARI —*Tuluva Usurpation.*

P. N. BHALLA —*The Mother of the Company* This is an account of the life and activities of Munni Begam, the favourite consort of Nawab Mir Jafar Khan of Murshidabad.

Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, vol IV, no. 1
(January-June, 1943)

WILHELM PRINTZ —*Bhāsas Prakrit* The original paper in German on the characteristics of the Prakrit dialects used in the dramas attributed to Bhāsa has been translated into English by P. V. Ramanujaswami.

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Eros and Mystico-religious Consciousness.* The South Indian Ālvars have written on divine experience through certain definite sentiments which are believed to have the power of making the relationship with God much intimate. In the galaxy of Ālvars, Tirumangai was a dynamic figure of the 8th century, who recorded his erotic or feminine approach and ardent wooing in two Tamil compositions called *Maḍal.*

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI —*Gleanings from Nīlakeśi.* The *Nīlakeśi* is a polemic treatise in Tamil written in Kāvya style in defence of Jainism against the attack of a work called *Kuṇḍalakeśi* It criticises the tenets of other schools of thought such as the Buddhists, Ājīvakas, Sāṅkhyas, Vaiśesikas, Vedāntas and Lokāyatas.

P. K. GODE.—*Some new Evidence regarding the Date of Jagaddhara-- between A D. 1275 and 1450*

K. V. NILAMEGHACHARYA —श्रीमद्भागवद्गीतापाञ्चरात्रयोर्वैकार्थ्ये किं प्रमाणम्. The object of this paper in Sanskrit is to prove that the *Nārāyanīya* section is not an interpolation in the *Mahābhārata* It agrees with the tenets and supports the authority of the Pāñcarātra system and has no inconsistency with the teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā* which is essentially in agreement with the doctrines of the Pāñcarātras.

D. T TATACHARYA —शाबरे पाठभेदः. The reading *cakṣurādibhiḥ* found in the editions of Śabarasvāmin's gloss on the Pratyaksa section of the *Mīmāmsāsūtra* has been corrected into *kṣudādibhiḥ* in the light of a statement made in Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasamgraha* and Kamalaśīla's commentary thereon

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XII, pt 2 (September, 1943)

N. J SHINDE.--*The Authorship of the Rāmāyaṇa* The predominance of the Bhrgvangiras family in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is pointed out in the paper with the suggestion that the Bhrgvangirases as champions of the cause of Brāhmaṇism have transformed the original *Bhārata* into the *Mahābhārata* and the original *Rāmāyana* (Books II—VI) into the present epic of seven Books by infusing Brāhmaṇic elements.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR —*The Ramāyaṇa in the Light of Aristotle's Poetics.*

A. N. UPADHYE —*The Soricaritta* The Prakrit poem *Soricaritta* (Sk. *Sauricaritra*) of Śrīkaṇṭha is described.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, no. 7, (October, 1943)

SADASHIVA L. KATRE.—*Dvijarājodaya. A Forgotten Dharma Nibandha* The *Dvijarājodaya* deals with Kāla or proper times for religious observances. Its author Dhīreśvara Miśra is identical with Dhīreśa Miśra, a teacher of Nīlakantha, the famous commentator of the *Mahābhārata*

Prabuddha Bharata, November, 1943

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI —*Sanskrit Poet Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa of Ayodhyā* Āyodhyaka Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa whose compositions are found in various works of anthology has been identified here with the author of the *Kṛṣṇakutūhala-kāvya* and the *Rasikarañjana* A younger brother of Vallabha Ācārya, the founder of the Śuddhādvaita school of Vedānta, Rāmacandra was patronised by Vīrasimha of Ayodhyā in the first half of the 16th century

AKSHAYA KUMAR BANERJEA —*The Śiva-śakti Cult of Yogiguru Gorakṣanātha* The whole universe with the diverse orders of individual bodies within it, is, according to Gorakṣanātha, non-different from Śakti, the innate spiritual Power of Śiva, the Absolute Spirit The manifested forms of Śiva's dynamic nature are the result of the gradual manifestation of His infinite Śakti

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar

(May 4, 1887—January 21, 1943)

The sudden and premature death of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, which is widely deplored among friends and orientalists, removes one of the most distinguished and commanding figures from the field of oriental scholarship in India. When the melancholy incident occurred, after a sudden stroke and a few hours' illness, on the 21st January, 1943, no one could have foreseen it, for Sukthankar was still, at the age of 56, in the maturity of his powers of body and mind, and favourably situated for a long continuation of the highly congenial work to which he had devoted himself, wholeheartedly and with a vigorous competence, for the last seventeen years. The news, therefore, came as a shock to his numerous friends and admirers, not only as a grave personal bereavement but also as an irreparable loss to scholarship. Only a little over a fortnight before the incident, there was the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, in which Sukthankar took an enthusiastic part, and in which the 12th fascicule of his last great work, the completed edition of the Āraṇyaka-parvan, was formally presented. The silver medal which was awarded to him on this occasion was primarily a tribute to his scholarship, but it also expressed appreciation of the unwearied care he had given, for many years, to the affairs of the Institute in various capacities. But, for the last two decades, he had made the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata the prime end of his life, and only a few hours before his death he was revising, to the last moment of his conscious life, the typescript of his lectures on the Mahābhārata, which he was to have delivered on the following day before the University of Bombay, and which would have embodied some of the mature results of his long and intensive study of the Mahābhārata problem

A complete edition of Sukthankar's works, with a literary biography and bibliography, has been promised to us by the V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee, the first volume of which has been already printed and presented at the Anniversary Memorial Meeting held at Poona on the 21st January of this year. It is, therefore, not necessary here to go into the details of his scholarly career, nor give a survey of his many contributions to diverse branches of Indology. Born on the 4th May, 1887, Sukthankar

received his early education at the Maratha High School and St. Xavier's College, Bombay, whence he proceeded, after his Intermediate Examination, to Cambridge, entered St. John's College and took the Mathematical Tripos. As yet he showed no special aptitude for Indological studies. Like that of Bhandarkar and Tiḷak, of Grassman and Grierson, of Skeat and Whitney, Mathematics was his first love, and his introduction to work as an orientalist was gradual. Perhaps his early training in this exact science, for which at no time of his life he appears to have lost his interest, was responsible for the scientific attitude and rigorous application of scientific method, as well as for the precision and accuracy of expression, which characterise all his writings. From Cambridge, Sukthankar migrated to Edinburgh and Berlin. It was at Berlin that he came under the inspiration and influence of that altmeister, Professor Heinrich Luders to whom the closing words of his Prolegomena bear a sincere and eloquent tribute For the first time Sukthankar's interest in oriental studies, especially in Comparative Grammar, Archæology and Textual Criticism, appears to have been aroused, and once aroused it never flagged Although he himself never spoke seriously of the small contribution, his doctoral dissertation, connected with a critical edition of Śākaṭāyana's Grammar (Leipzig 1921), yet reveals how thoroughly he was trained in the severest school of scholarship On his return to India, Sukthankar joined the Department of Archæological Survey He contributed a number of interesting papers, mostly on archæological subjects, but his most outstanding work of this period consists of an elaborate and intensive study of the Bhāsa problem in its different aspects, and an English translation of the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* (Oxford 1923) These papers display his talent, as a Sanskrit scholar, for mastery of details and sobriety of judgment, while as a translator he happily combines exactness with elegance and ease of diction. But all this was preparation for that great work to which he was now called and to which he made, through long and fruitful years, so monumental a contribution.

When in 1925 the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute invited Sukthankar to undertake the responsibilities of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, it cannot be said that the circumstances were entirely favourable. For six years since its inception, the Institute had been valiantly grappling with the elusive and complicated problem. The tentative edition of the Virāṭa-parvan which it had published was indeed a conscientious effort, but neither the constituted text nor the groping method could in any sense be

regarded as definitive. No doubt, Sukthankar profited by the experiment and experience of Utgikar, but he had to wipe the whole thing out and begin afresh. In doing this, it became necessary to overcome long-rooted prejudice, on the one hand, and to evolve, on the other, a method and technique which, for its exactness and simplicity, would be fully appropriate and readily acceptable. The preliminaries had to be settled, a great deal of spade-work had to be done, the department had to be reorganised, the system of collation had to be carefully thought out, critical principles had to be clearly realised after a minute study of textual details, and the work had to be remodelled on a strictly scientific and solid basis. It is a tribute to Sukthankar's boundless enthusiasm and brilliant scholarship that, within two years of his taking charge, the first fascicule of the Ādi-parvan was published in 1927. Although, for various reasons, the Parvan was not completed till 1933, the first fascisule itself would show that the text-critical principles, which Sukthankar enunciated in his Prolegomena eight years later and the method and technique which he evolved for dealing with the tangled complexities of the epic text-tradition, had already taken a clear and logical shape in his mind to be consistently applied throughout. At first there were sceptics and scoffers, and the soundness of his judgment was inevitably called in question, but in a series of *Epic Studies* Sukthankar answered, in detail and with precision, some of the fundametal criticisms, and having cleared all misundetanding he was able to make them accepted by the scholarly world. It is not necessary here to go into the history of this great scholarly endeavour, nor consider the textual principles so brilliantly established, it will suffice to say that Sukthankar devoted himself to the laborious and exacting task for seventeen years with unflagging zeal and unswerving singleness of purpose, and succeeded in setting up a high standard of sound workmanship which makes the work, so far accomplished, a marvel of gigantic toil and solid learning It is most unfortunate that he lived to see only a fraction of the work completed, but he had the satisfaction of finding that the foundations were truly and firmly laid In spite of the magnitude and complexity of the undertaking and its manifold difficulty, which makes efficient progress necessarily slow, the able and alert guidance of Sukthankar made it possible to deal with the first six Parvans of the Mahābhārata, namely, the Ādi (Sukthankar), Sabhā (Edgerton), Āranyaka (Sukthankar), Virāta (Ragu Vira), Udyoga (De) and Bhīsma (Belvalkar). All this comprises nearly one-fourth of the entire text, but in bulk

it is four times as great as the Iliad and Odyssey put together, and about one and a half times as great as the Rāmāyana; while in the difficulty of editing the text from the confusing diversity of versions and recensions, it perhaps yields to none of the great epics mentioned. The undertaking in its entirety is stupendous indeed and in his last published work Sukthankar himself speaks of "the yet distant Utopia of a complete critical edition of the Mahābhārata," but if today the arduous task seems no longer an impossibility nor the Utopia an unattainable vision, it is because the task has been initiated and the way has been cleared by the intrepid skill and inspiring scholarship of Sukthankar himself.

There can be no doubt that Sukhthankar's great talents found their most congenial field in the Mahābhārata work. For more than ten years, he worked single-handed, but even when the work was divided, his task was thereby rendered no less arduous. Although he himself edited only two Parvans, his collaborators in the other Parvans, among whom the present writer had the honour of counting himself as one, are well aware that Sukthankar's work as the General Editor was never nominal He elaborated a system of organised team-work which considerably lightened the exacting task of individual editors, but, more than that, his great enthusiasm and willingness to help, his ripe experience and alert scholarship, his strenuous application and patient devotedness were always at their disposal unreservedly. What other people attained laboriously came to him naturally as an unerring instinct, and yet he had the capacity of taking infinite pains and would not allow a single line or word to pass until he was himself fully satisfied. From the beginning to the final stage of proof-reading, his vigilant scrutiny was always there, and it went a long way towards giving the edition of each Parvan its final shape. In this connexion the words of Professor Edgerton, another colleague of his, are illuminating "I am appalled at the thought that it will now be necessary to entrust the Mahābhārata edition to others Few persons now living are as well gifted by nature as he was with the peculiar combination of intellectual qualities needed for this work. And literally not one has had the experience which he had and which is second in importance only to that native ability. He had arrived at a point where so many things had become almost automatic to him, like second nature; things which even those of us who have helped in this edition cannot control as he did, though we may have painfully struggled towards an approximation of a few of them. Now, just when he could have

exploited to the full this unique combination of knowledge and experience ज्ञानं सविज्ञानम् he is cut off in the midst of it." No attempt can yet be made to assess the permanent value of Sukthankar's work, but a generous tribute like this from a worthy colleague is indeed a high appreciation. It should only be added that, as a scholar, Sukthankar had endless energy and enthusiasm for his work, indomitable optimism and a firmness of spirit which, held undeviating from the path he had chosen, triumphed over every difficulty of circumstance. His scholarly integrity was also unimpeachable. He had immense courage of conviction, but he was quick and versatile in mind and had a large fund of good sense and good humour to appreciate other points of view. He was never in a haste to publish and never wrote in haste. He believed in facts more than in theories in painstaking accumulation and weighing of evidence more than in sweeping generalisations, what he wrote, therefore, had always an enduring documentary value.

Above all, he was convinced of the importance of the great undertaking to which he had dedicated his life In the closing words of his Introduction to his last work, the Aranyaka-parvan, this faith is breathed forth in warm, palpitating words, as an anticipation perhaps of the last farewell which he took:

> If Maharsi Kṛsna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa tells us that he has cried himself hoarse, urging people to follow the Path of Duty -
>
> ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति माम् ।
> धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥
>
> his shouting with uplifted arms has *not* been entirely vain He has not failed in his mission. Across the reverberating corridors of Time, we his descendants can still hear dimly his clarion call to Duty. It is in response to that call and in a spirit of reverent homage to that sage of unfathomable wisdom—that embodied Voice of the Collective Unconscious of the Indian people—we offer this work, pledged to broadcast to mankind at this hour of its need and its peril, the luminous message of the Maharṣi:
>
> न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभाद्धर्मं त्यजेज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ।
> धर्मो नित्यः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये जीवो नित्यो हेतुरस्याप्यनित्यः ॥

This is also Sukthankar's own message, as he realised it in his own life. We can only add that Sukthankar's appeal will not go unheeded, while his warm personality will remain as an abiding memory for all time to come.

S. K. DE

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids

(Born 27th Sept., 1857—Died 26th June, 1942)

The cruel hand of death has snatched away from the midst of Indologists of the world Mrs. Rhys Davids and cut off the great career of a unique personality. Once a pupil of the late lamented Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, she was privileged to be his wife, life-long companion, and co-worker. As wife, she served him with great devotion, as pupil she not only glorified his name, but in some respects surpassed him, and as co-worker she not only rendered ablest assistance but did all things possible to carry on and complete the great task left unfinished by the founder President of the Pali Text Society. Such a happy union of heart, intellect, talent and soul is very rare indeed in history.

There is no wonder, then, that while she lived, she passed as a most wonderful woman in England, who had time to attend to multifarious duties of life, whether to her household, or to the neighbours, friends, scholars, printers, publishers and workers of the Society. All the letters she wrote in her own hand, without any assistant, all through her life. Besides her most intimate acquaintance with Pāli Literature and critical works on Indology in different European languages, she was a master of Psychology and a close reader of Western Philosophy and Literature, ancient, mediaeval and modern Every work she wrote bears the stamp of her individuality and personal conviction, and went to show a perfect mastery over the language she handled To her the world owes the introduction of the critical study of the most technical and at the same time important branch of the Pali literature called Abhidhamma. Her translation of the Dhammasangani under the title of *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics* was a notable performance on her part It was the forerunner of the subsequent translations and interpretation of such Abhidhamma works, as the *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*, the *Kathāvatthu*, the *Visuddhimagga*, and the *Aṭṭhasālinī*, more or less under her guidance or at her request Her book called *Buddhist Psychology* passes as a distinct contribution to modern literature on Psychology.

She could make time also to transcribe and edit as many as five Pali texts of the size and volume of the Vibhaṅga and the rest. But this is not all. In the midst of her onerous duty as the general editor of all the publications of the Pali Text Society she successfully translated the Thera-Therigatha in English verse called it "Psalms of the Early Buddhist Brothers and

Sisters." These are likely to find no mean place in English literature next to Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*.

Her little book on Buddhism in the Home University Series, which she revised, will ever be read as an authoritative statement on the philosophical position of early Buddhism. At a later stage she began to see the Buddha from a new angle, and published a number of works presenting her views.

Whether posterity accepts her standpoint or not, these late publications of hers will be judged as thought-provoking and as outcome of her deep personal conviction and profound scholarship *"The Wayfarers' Words"* in three Volumes is a posthumous publication and a ***magnum opus*** which crowns the labours of her intellectual and thinking life. I need not mention other works which are well-known and have special merit of their own.

She lived a ripe old age of eightythree, full of ceaseless and fruitful activities till she passed away in her peaceful cottage on the Surrey Hill overlooking the Railway Station. In health of her body, mind and intellect, and in the possession of a heart, which was a well of sympathy, she was surpassed by none. She was sent down to perform a herculean task. Hers was an enviable human career, enlivened with vision and unperturbed by the vicissitudes of private and national life

Her death is still more enviable, especially that she passed away at a time when the world was still in the grip of titanic global war which cast deep shadows over her mental horizon but could not shake her deepest faith in the ultimate victory of truth and righteousness

May her soul rest in peace and her memory continue to inspire us all for ever.

B. M. Barua

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